Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-055
Thursday
23 March 1989

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FBIS-EEU-89-055 *23 March 1989*

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'Friendship-'89' Exercises Begin in Magdeburg

LD2103212689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Participants of the "Friendship-'89" exercise gathered at a field meeting today at the Altengrabow troop-training area (Magdeburg area). The soldiers of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army, and the GDR National People's Army [NVA] arrived in the area with their military equipment.

In the spirit of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, the soldiers convincingly proved that they are capable of guaranteeing the secure protection of socialist achievements and of peace, said the commander of the exercise, Lieutenant General Mikhail Kalinin, first deputy of the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Everything possible must be done to ensure that present and future generations never experience the horrors of war.

Major General Michael Schlothauer, deputy to the commander of the NVA, stressed that this exercise is taking place at a time characterized by far-reaching disarmament initiatives on the part of the socialist states. Given the efforts of certain forces within NATO which continue to back confrontation and high levels of arms, it remains an important responsibility of the members of the NVA to ensure, alongside the fraternal armies, that their fighting strength and defensive capabilities are constantly maintained at the required level.

The deputy to the commander of the Polish Army, Brigadier General Edmund Bolociuch, recalled the rich traditions of joint training. This makes an important contribution to strengthening and enriching the comradeship-in-arms.

Exercises End 22 Mar

LD2203111989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1019 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "Friendship-'89" joint troop exercise being carried out by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], the Polish Army, and the GDR New People's Army in the Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Jessen, Dahme, Baruth, and Tangermuende areas concluded today. Up to 16,500 members of the three fraternal armies took part in the exercise. In the past days troops and staff practiced combined defensive actions and improved their level of training.

The exercise was headed by Lieutenant General Mikhail Kalinin, deputy commander in chief of the GSFG, and the participatory states of the Stockholm agreement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe were informed of it.

Warsaw Pact's Lushev, Lobov Visit Bulgaria

Zhivkov Receives Pact Chiefs

AU2003140689 Sofia BTA in English 1326 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, received today Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the United Armed Forces of the CMEA member states and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the United Armed Forces, who are paying an official friendly visit at the invitation of the government.

At the meeting, the Bulgarian party and state leader spoke of the situation in the Balkans and Bulgaria's policy for strengthening of confidence and good neighbourliness and cooperation in the region. Satisfaction was expressed with the positive changes in international relations as result of the new political thinking, for which a significant contribution have the unilateral initiatives of the socialist countries for reduction of the arms and the armed forces, of the military budgets in compliance with the defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty. It was indicated that the NATO member countries are expected to follow suit.

During the consideration of the course of the Vienna follow-up conference the need was stressed of an early achievement of concrete results on the basis of equal security at a lower level and of termination of the attempts to accompany the reductions of arms and the armed forces in a certain field with an armaments race in other fields.

Army General Petr Lushev informed on the forthcoming task of the united commandment [as received] of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the fulfillment of the policy of the socialist countries under the new conditions.

Mr Todor Zhivkov wished success to the future highly responsible work of Army General Petr Lushev and of Army General Vladimir Lobov.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defense, and Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian National Army, participated in the talks.

The guest had talks with Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government dwelled on the social and economic restructuring in the country in compliance with the July concept of the CC of the BCP,

of the company organization of the economic life and of policy, directed at the increase of the processes of democracy in all spheres of life.

Mr Dobri Dzhurov and Mr Atanas Semerdzhiev participated in the talks.

Meet Dzhurov, Depart

AU2003192989 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 20 (BTA)—Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, visited today Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence.

They discussed a number of issues of mutual interest.

The Soviet military leaders left the country.

Lushev Interviewed

AU2203125589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, by Colonel Engineer Veselin Stoyanov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent: "In the Spirit of the New Political Thinking,"—in Sofia, on 21 March]

[Text] A few minutes prior to the departure from Bulgaria of the noted Soviet military leader Army General Petr Lushev, a representative of our Editorial Board addressed a question to him:

[Stoyanov] Comrade Army General, how does the leadership of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries regard the further development of our fraternal combat alliance in light of the new political thinking and the uniform military doctrine that was adopted by our countries in May 1987?

[Lushev] First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the opportunity to visit your country and for the reception by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. We also are grateful to Army General Dobri Dzhurov for the opportunity to resolve certain issues that affect the organization and further development of cooperation among the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The meetings with the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and at the Ministry of National Defense showed our unity of opinion on the further development of the Joint Armed Forces, stemming from the national doctrines and our uniform military doctrine, which has a defensive character.

The new political thinking created the opportunity for new approaches, decisions, and concepts to gradually assert themselves. The USSR-U.S. INF Treaty, which marked mankind's transition from nuclear arms race to nuclear disarmament, became a reality in our time. Of course, this became possible thanks to the mutual efforts of all European states, as well as the United States and Canada. Nevertheless, if we invoke the issue of the enhanced constructive and realistic spirit in the Western countries' policy and activities, we must also stress that, to a significant degree, these things were determined by the initiatives and practical steps of the socialist community states, and especially the unilateral initiatives and steps.

These steps by the fraternal armies represent a purposeful campaign which one must perceive as a constructive contribution to the process of disarmament, ensuring military detente, and creating an atmosphere of trust. Simultaneously, they are of exceptional importance in forming a new model for guaranteeing security—not through increasing weapons, but through reducing them on a mutual basis, within the framework of reasonable sufficiency.

The unilateral reduction of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states clearly confirms the implementation of the foreign policy course of the fraternal parties and countries, aimed at the democratization of international relations and removing the threat of war.

The main tasks that lay ahead include, along with the unilateral reduction of our armed forces, the strengthening of combat readiness by focusing attention on the qualitative training of personnel and on the qualitative state of the weapons. All the measures planned by the Joint Armed Forces are being implemented on a qualitatively high level.

The basic goal that has always been and will always be at the center of the foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Pact member countries, is to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe. In this respect, much has been done up to now, and still more is to be done.

In conclusion, I would again like to stress that at the meetings we had today we expressed our full unity of opinion on further strengthening combat fraternity and the cooperation among our peoples and armies.

Romanian Delegate Addresses Disarmament Session
AU2003201189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Mar 89 p 4

["For a Concerted Approach to Problems of Disarmament; Romania Advocates a Comprehensive Program for Disarmament, Which Should Focus on Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] Geneva, 16 Mar (AGERPRES)—Taking the floor at the plenary session of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the Romanian representative emphasized the importance our country attaches to the concerted approach to disarmament and to working out a comprehensive program for disarmament, which should focus on nuclear disarmament and also incorporate measures for eliminating chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as measures for substantially reducing conventional weapons, troops, and military budgets.

The speaker reiterated the call for an immediate cessation of all nuclear tests and a move to negotiating—with the participation of all states—an agreement on halting the modernization of these weapons. The continuation of nuclear testing, the speaker continued, will entail a new qualitative level of the nuclear arms race, thus possibly canceling the effects of reductions agreed upon or under discussion. Nuclear testing is the most secure means of preparing the emergence of a new generation of weapons.

Romania has never accepted and will not accept the lawfulness of nuclear weapons, irrespective of the motivation in their support. In recent developments there is nothing to justify a change in attitude. On the contrary, in light of all events that have occurred, the monopoly of some countries over nuclear weapons, and the efforts made by some of them to maintain and consolidate this monopoly is even more unacceptable just as it is unacceptable that within the framework of this unique UN forum for multilateral negotiations—the disarmament conference—it is not possible to move to basic discussions and negotiations on nuclear issues.

An effective process of disarmament should necessarily and primarily include the examination, negotiation, and achievement of effective measures for nuclear disarmament. Particular responsibility in this respect rests with the USSR and the United States, which should be encouraged to intensify their bilateral efforts aimed at substantially reducing nuclear weapons. However, their efforts cannot and should not replace multilateral efforts of the disarmament conference and of the whole international community. The existence of nuclear weapons, their effects, and the effects of accords on their reduction and elimination concern all states in the world.

In this context, the Romanian representative reiterated Romania's proposal on achieving a universal treaty on a total ban and elimination, stage by stage, of nuclear weapons, and on setting up a special body, with the participation of all nuclear states and the other states, to negotiate such a treaty. In this context, considerations were formulated and proposals were made on the special role and responsibilities of the disarmament conference regarding the negotiation and achievement of accords, and the adoption of specific measures in the area of nuclear disarmament.

GDR Delegation Head Addresses Vienna CFE Talks
AU2003115889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—The GDR regards the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe as important and urgent in order to prevent a hiatus in the disarmament process or a break as regards the contents. This was stated by Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation, at the plenary session of the Warsaw Pact and NATO delegations in Vienna on Thursday [16 March]. The document, which was also presented on behalf of the GDR on the 1st day of negotiations and in which the drastic reduction and reorganization of the conventional armed forces were proposed in three stages, in order to make them exclusively defensive, accords with this objective. In connection with the NATO states' refusal to include offensive air forces in the negotiations, the GDR representative said that nobody who has followed the military confrontation of the past decades alertly will understand such an attitude.

SFRY Envoy, Perez de Cuellar Meet on Summit

LD2203045889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0003 GMT 22 Mar 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, March 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the United Nations Dragoslav Pejic today informed U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar that Yugoslavia had proposed to Zimbabwe as chairing country of the Movement of Non-alignment and to the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned that the ninth non-aligned summit take place in Belgrade from September 4-7 this year.

During his meeting with the U.N. secretary general, which lasted a full hour, Pejic stated Yugoslavia's views of the basic topical issues that will be discussed at the summit, with particular stress on the orientation towards modernizing the movement and its more effective action in the changed conditions of international relations.

They also discussed Yugoslavia and its orientation towards strengthening international cooperation in keeping with the reforms that are currently being implemented in the country. Perez de Cuellar highly assessed Yugoslavia's contribution to the current developments in the U.N. Security Council and within the U.N. in general, and highlighted the historic role which Yugoslavia has had in the process of the development of international relations.

The exceptional importance of international economic issues for Non-aligned Movement activities and the U.N.'s further work was stressed in the talks. It was assessed that conditions are ripe for a more decisive action aimed at settling the debtor crisis and, in relations to this, the importance was stressed of holding a special U.N. General Assembly session on economic issues.

The U.N. secretary general was particularly optimistic regarding prospects for settling the crisis in Central America. In this he assessed as an exceptional achievement, the successful completion of talks at the U.N. with representatives of five Central American countries on the formation of a U.N. verification commission which would supervise the democratization process in Central America.

Perez de Cuellar repeated his intention to strengthen, in the immediate future, contacts with all sides interested in opening the process of settling the Middle East crisis.

Further Reports on IPU Proceedings in Budapest

Albania's Cela Speaks

AU1803153389 Tirana ATA in English 0937 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 18 (ATA)—A delegation of the Albanian parliamentary group, headed by the Deputy Aranit Cela, chairman of the Supreme Court of the People's Socialist Republic [PSR] of Albania, took part in the 81st conference of Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU], which held its proceedings in Budapest from March 13-18, 1989.

At the debate "On the Political, Economic and Social Situation in the World," on March 17, the floor was also taken by the head of the Albanian delegation, who said among others:

The political problems that have to do with the preservation of peace and stability, as well as the economic and social ones, are of a special importance, because they are linked with the present and the future of the world, and the whole mankind is rightfully preoccupied for them. Therefore, it is our duty to be seriously engaged in the creation of an even more favorable atmosphere, which would directly influence the finding of the suitable ways and means for their solution.

Recently, the peoples' efforts have been intensified to lower tension and oppose the factors instigating war. A number of regional conflicts are already on the road of solution.

Despite these phenomena, we cannot but point out that a series of political, economic, and social factors jeopardising international peace and security, continue to exist. The armaments race goes on uninterruptedly, just like the military blocs manipulated by the superpowers, which keep alive the spirit of confrontation in Europe and broader, continue to exist.

Recently, the tendency of the superpowers to institutionalize their meetings, where they treat global question, such as those of disarmament, security, outer space or seabed etc., is becoming stronger. The Albanian parliamentarians think that the disturbing problems facing mankind and which demand solution, must not constitute an exclusivity of the biggest.

The parliamentarians, as representatives of their peoples and the broad public opinion, can and should play a greater and more sensitive role in the issues preoccupying the peoples and the whole mankind. This would make a contribution also to the democratization of the international relations.

The parliamentary delegation of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Aranit Cela said further on, shares the worry of the countries and peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, backs up their efforts in defense of the economic interests, to exercise their national sovereignty over the natural resources, considering the economic independence as basic premise of the political independence. We are for fruitful economic-trade relations with the other countries and that they develop on the basis of equality and mutual benifit. We consider the development of these relations not only as a means of mutual profit, but also as contribution to the normal development of the international relations.

The Albanian parliamentarians, Comrade Aranit Cela said, have made their contribution to the realization of the policy of good neighborliness in our region, and to the commitment of our country in the initiated process of Balkan understanding and cooperation, considering it as a realistic and useful alternative which responds to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the peninsula.

The head of the delegation of the Albanian parliamentary group Comrade Aranit Cela, held also a speech in the plenary session of this conference on de-colonization, elimination of apartheid and on the rights of the ethnic nationalities and minorities, he said among others:

We are living at a time when the aspirations and efforts of the peoples for freedom and independence, development, and general emancipation are strengthening, when the relations among states in various fields keep expanding, when the economic, cultural, technical-scientific exchanges, etc., are increasing and make the economies develop and cultures enrich.

The promotion of this process asks also the further democratization of the international relations, especially in the multinational states, the encouragement of the equal development of the national traditions of the peoples and nations they are made of, their cultural, economic, and social emancipation. This would contribute a great deal to make a reality what is called genuine fraternity of the peoples. But these demands of the time run counter to the regressive tendencies occurring actually in our old continent, as well, and which consist of the oppression of the ethnic nationalities and minorities, the violation of their legitimate rights, which are recognized also by the international law and the U.N. Charter.

We cannot but be anxious also when in the Balkan peninsula, too, the stand that has been and is adopted in any case toward the nationalities and minorities is not always inspired by democratic and progressive aims and it has not always been in accordance with the historic realities and the interests of the peoples of the region. It is as anachronic as worrisome today, when on the verge of the 21st century, violence and tanks are used to deny and deprive the minorities of their democratic freedoms and national rights belonging to them. Such an uncivilized behavior is a challenge also toward the international public opinion.

The denunciation of the violence and arbitrariness toward the minorities and the chauvinistic ideologies and policies, is not interference in the home affairs of the others. It is an obligation deriving from the lofty aim to establish good neighborliness among the peoples and states, from the desire to generally consolidate peace and security, for the general emancipation of the people. When speaking of this, we do not put forth and think that these problems can and should be solved through the change of borders. On the contrary, reason, wisdom and cool-headedness are needed for the solution of the national questions.

The PSR of Albania, Comrade Aranit Cela said in conclusion, has pursued a principled policy and has considered the minorities as a factor of cohesion within the country and as an element of rapprochement and friendship among the peoples. Proceeding from these aims, it has realized in practice, in its territory, complete equality of all the nationals, with no distinction of the race or nationality.

SFRY's Mejak, 'Arafat Meet

LD1803123289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0343 GMT 18 Mar 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (TANJUG)—We are witnessing changes in international relations which inspire hope that humanity is on the threshold of a new era of peace and friendly cooperaton, head of Yugoslavia's delegation attending the 81st session of the Interparliamentary Union Miran Mejak said in Budapest today.

Assessing that the Soviet Union and the United States share most of the credit for the improvement in the political climate in the world, Mejak stressed that the role of other countries, including the nonaligned, is also gaining prominence.

Mejak stressed during a debate on the elimination of racism and apartheid that Yugoslavia is proud that the meeting will discuss all the problems of today's world, including the questions of decolonization.

The Yugoslav representative described as particularly significant achievement at the Budapest meeting the adoption of an initiative put forward by Tunisia and the German Democratic Republic to discuss the possibility of convening an international conference on the Middle East, despite the opposition voiced by Israel's delegation.

A majority of delegates also voted in favour of the proposal that leaders of the Palestinian Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat address the meeting. 'Arafat called on Tel Aviv once again to show willingness for reconciliation and received a standing ovation from the crowded conference hall.

The Israeli delegation sat through 'Arafat's entire speech, in contrast to some occasions in the past when Israeli delegates regularly left the hall when he spoke.

Resolution Passed; Talks End

LD1803214889 Budapest MTI in English 2012 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—The week-long conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] ended on Saturday [18 March] in Budapest, with the passing of a resolution on dismantling the colonial system, eliminating all forms of racism and racial segregation, and ensuring the rights of the minorities. Among others, the

document states: It is regrettable that certain countries violate the individual and collective rights of the minorities, the ethnic minorities. It calls on all countries to immediately cease all sorts of legal and other types of restrictions which prevent the national minorities from being equal citizens. The resolution stresses that the cultural traditions of the national minorities form a part of the common cultural inheritance of humanity. It takes a stand for the freedom of education in the mother language, including the freedom of the use of language, and religion.

The resolution sharply condemns South Africa as it upholds the system of racial segregation, and attacks the neighbouring countries. Among others, the resolution proposes that as many legislators as possible should be present from the various countries of the world at the coming elections in Namibia.

In another resolution, the conference took a stand for the immediate summoning of an international conference to settle the Middle East issue. It proposes that the United Nations Organization should consider the possibility of placing the areas occupied by Israel under international supervision until the final settlement of the issue.

A third resolution deals with the international convention to set down the rights of children. It requests the parliaments to support the convention.

Prior to the closing session on Saturday afternoon, the leading body of IPU, the council, held a session and discussed, among others, that retributive measures have been introduced in many countries against the elected MP's. The competent committee of the IPU examined the cases of 18 parliamentary MP's at its current session. Among others, it stated: The government of Chile has still not given an explanation for the disappearance of two former representatives. The rights of MP's were similarly violated in Colombia, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey. The union takes steps in the interest of enforcing the rights of MP's.

At the end of the 81st inter-parliamentary conference, representatives of the various territorial groups expressed their thanks to the Hungarian parliamentary group for the successful organization of the highly important conference. They voiced thanks to the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian people for the cordial hospitality. The next inter-parliamentary conference, which is to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the organization's founding, will be held in London this autumn.

At a press conference following the IPU conference, journalists were informed that most of the countries participating in the European security process were of the opinion: The conditions still do not exist for holding the IPU conference dealing with current issues of security and cooperation at the originally planned date, in May, in Bucharest. A decision on this will be made at the London inter-parliamentary conference in September.

Further Reportage on Ankara Balkan Conference

SFRY Trade Minister Speaks

LD1503152589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1306 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Ankara, March 15 (TANJUG)—The best way for the Balkan countries to join in the integration processes and technological development in Europe is through comprehensive mutual cooperation, Yugoslav Foreign Trade Minister Nenad Krekic said at the Balkan countries ministerial meeting which opend in Ankara today.

The two-day meeting in Ankara is attended by economy and foreign trade ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia believes that economic cooperation in the Balkan peninsula is the basis for strengthening stability and promotion of overall relations among Balkan countries, Krekic said.

He stressed that sincerity and unity of proclaimed policy and the one which is being implemented were necessary for the development of cooperation.

However, the policy of some Balkan countries is damaging to good-neighbourly relations, it represents interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and it does not contribute to development of cooperation, Krekic said.

He said that the present level of cooperation between Balkan countries was not in accord with their natural, market, production and technological potential, since it accounts for around four percent of their trade with the world.

Krekic suggested the introduction of a series of measures which would broaden trade among Balkan countries. He urged the gradual lifting of barriers such as contingents, quotas, permits and bans.

Krekic urged the curbing of protectionist pressure, simplification of customs formalities and coordination of standards among the Balkan countries and with the European Community countries.

The Ankara meeting should focus on development of industrial cooperation, which would include mutual exchange of information on raw material deposits and existing facilities which could be used jointly for marketing of goods in the Balkan countries or for export to other world countries, Krekic said.

Industrial cooperation would also include the examining of possibilities for joint ventures, Krekic said.

He set out Yugoslavia's stand that the Balkan countries' joint chamber of economy should be formed.

Athens expects that the Ankara meeting will pave the way for broader and long term economic cooperation among the Balkan countries, which has so far boiled down to classic forms of trade.

Greece believes that the Ankara meeting should decide to establish an economic institute for cooperation among the Balkan countries, with headquarters in Athens, which would contribute to the setting up of lasting economic relations among the six Balkan countries.

Romania will also insist on concrete agreements in Ankara since it believes that the favourable political climate in the Balkans should be used for the broadening economic and other forms of cooperation.

Address by Romania's Ungur

AU1603190789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 16 Mar 89

["Romanian Chief Delegate's Address to Inter-Balkan Meeting in Ankara"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Ankara (AGERPRES) 16/3/1989—In his address during the conference of economy and foreign trade ministers from Balkan countries under way in Ankara, Romanian chief delegate Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, stressed that a climate of confidence and cooperation in the Balkans could be built only through an active cooperation among all the countries in the area, on the basis of the principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, non-recourse to the use or threat of force, and a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all litigious issues.

The speaker also pointed out that the increase of economic and commercial exchanges provided broad possibilities for a more intense cooperation and a more active participation of the Balkan states in the international division of labour and the international exchange of assets. Romania, he said, has economic and commercial relations with all the Balkans states, a special role in their development being played by summit meetings and understandings.

The Romanian minister showed that there were considerable reserves which could be capitalized and that efforts should be stepped up for a wider use of the advantages offered by the current potential of the Balkan countries' economies and by their geographical proximity, by developing commercial exchanges and cooperation in key industries and in all spheres of mutual interest.

Cami Addresses Academy of Sciences Meeting

AU2003200589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Mar 89 p 1, 3

["From the Speech of Comrade Foto Cami," Albanian Workers' Party Central Committee Politburo member, at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences in Tirana on 14 March]

[Text] Comrade Foto Cami said in his speech, among other things, that our economy needs profound and sophisticated research projects to revolutionize production and inaugurate a qualitative change in its pace. The problems we have to solve are complex, interinstitutional, and interdisciplinary. However, our research still does not guarantee this sophistication in offering solutions, and we do not attain the total overview that is characteristic of major research. In this way, we approach our complex tasks on a piecemeal basis, and the lack of an overall view of the object of study becomes the main reason that such studies do not fully achieve their purpose.

It seems to me that, in order to overcome the problem of solving complex research tasks, a mere accumulation of knowledge, however deep it may be, is insufficient. The talk mentioned the example of energy, and within it, the question of coal. However, let us take the problem of salt land, for many people ask when the situation will be improved. Millions of leks have been invested, and yet much of this money has been poured out in vain, and the anticipated results have not been attained. This has happened because, among other reasons, there has not been complete coordination of technological factors and elements, or because some of these have been neglected. These and other examples show that it is precisely from the lack of such an overall view, amongst other weaknesses, that we very often do not gain the expected benefit from the research we perform and apply, or only gain it later than expected. It is not a matter here merely of research in the technical or agricultural spheres, but also of much economic research.

Under these conditions, therefore, it is necessary to inaugurate a change, or I would say, a radical turning point, in the development and methodology of the way in which complex interdisciplinary studies are carried out. This means that we must also find more effective ways to organize and coordinate scientific staff and the research that is carried out in the country's various scientific institutions, and to consolidate tendencies toward the integration that is so necessary for solving complex problems. When it is a question of specific problems, temporary groups of scientists may be formed to solve them, while for major, often long-term objectives, programs of work and interdisciplinary and interinstitutional projects must be drawn up and worked on, with scientific aims and objectives which will not only be focused on scientific research, but will avoid unnecessary or trivial topics or duplication, and will concentrate our energies.

Drawing up such programs is even more in the interest of problems of long-term strategy that stretch beyond the limit of a 5-year period. It is in the nature of scientific research for it to anticipate economic and social problems, often offering alternative solutions.

After talking about the need for much scientific research which will open up the most distant horizons and anticipate economic solutions, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that, by considering important strategic issues on a national scale, we will be able to respond punctually to the large-scale and specific problems posed in every 5-year period.

The Ninth Party Congress pointed out that, in our case, science is being transformed into a direct productive force. In our country also, especially in the eighties, there is a visible, growing specialization among sectors of scientific knowledge, along the general, traditional lines of division of labor, who must therefore cope properly with their tasks, for their failure cannot be compensated for by other sectors. "This is a major achievement," Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, "and nobody here has any reason to fear that the classical dividing line between the productive and nonproductive sphere will be blurred."

Nevertheless, the practical conduct of scientific research studies, Comrade Foto Cami pointed out, implies that these studies will be turned into a final product. It is not enough merely to acquire new knowledge, for this knowledge must be turned into a product, into results, and applied to solving specific problems.

In giving examples of the inadequacies of some research projects, Comrade Foto Cami said that there is still much to be done in eliminating these. Projects involving mere theorizing, which only serve to gain a title or degree for their authors, or enable them to say that they are conducting research, but which have neither practical nor scientific value, must be eliminated in the research we perform, as must the mere mechanical and simplified application of the achievements of world science.

Comrade Foto Cami then pointed out that changing the role and place of science, its transformation into a direct productive force, and the need to make scientific work as effective as possible, further give substance to the concept of a product of scientific labor, and the need to subject it further to the effects of economic mechanisms. For instance, last year seven institutes attached to ministries adopted an internal method of accountancy, while other production institutes will be follow this year. In general, last year's experience was positive. However, this does not mean that we have achieved the ultimate method of functioning, or that it properly serves the purposes for which it was created. The party instructs that, before anything else, we must protect ourselves from simplified or bureaucratic notions of this matter; the aim is for the value of scientific work to be clearly visible and to be realistically assessed, so that its effectiveness may be increased, and that on one hand society

may directly profit in its earnings, and on the other hand that investments in science may be increased, and that society may more highly appreciate scientific research and planning work.

These and other problems, Comrade Foto Cami later stressed, which have emerged from and involve methodological aspects, the determination of prices, the enforcement of discipline in carrying out contracts, the costs of research and planning and their quality, the use of various kinds of incentives, and so forth, show that the entire mechanism must be subjected to constant attention and care, with the aim of refining it on the basis of standard scientific concepts, so that it may serve the purposes for which it was introduced. In particular, the economic research bodies and the Committee for Science and Technology must monitor it closely.

We have created an extensive network of institutes and institutions in our country, where research in various fields of production and social life is carried out. Apart from these, more than 250 technological departments have been created within enterprises. However, we have never pretended that everything that involves research and experimentation must be solved by these specialized units. Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the eighth party Central Committee plenum in June 1980, calling the institutes the core of our scientific work, stressed that they must rely strongly upon those thousands and thousands of senior and middle-level cadres and vanguard workers and cooperativists, encouraging their initiative, working with them and training them, and profiting from their vital experience.

There are many high-level specialists in production sectors and in social life who often merely deal with routine tasks that require no special qualification. Thus, their training loses its value, as do the talents they possess, which could be used profitably if they were given encouragement and if their commitment was carefully aroused.

Comrade Foto Cami later said that the technical and creative labor of skilled workers in production, innovators and rationalizers, is an important source of scientific, technical, and social progress. Despite the measures taken by the Committee for Science and Technology in improving its organizational work and increasing the role of moral and material incentives, we are still benefiting little from the real opportunities in the innovators' movement. We must encourage more, and especially appreciate more, workers and technicians in production, because experience hitherto shows that their innovations are a major force in promoting production.

Kapllani-Led Delegation Leaves for Japan

AU2103194989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, an Albanian delegation led by Muharem Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, has left for Japan.

Dzhurov Addresses Meeting of Army Aktiv

AU2203171089 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Mar 89 p 2

["Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense": "On Further Accelerating Restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army," given at the 17 March Sofia meeting of the all-Army party aktiv]

[Text] Only about 1 year ago, at the 16th all-Army party conference, we profoundly analyzed the work related to restructuring the Bulgarian People's Army in accordance with the requirements of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the BCP July Concept, and specified the tasks related to further implementing restructuring on the basis of the decisions of the BCP National Conference.

Why did we decide to again discuss the issues of restructuring in the Army at the present meeting of the all-Army party aktiv?

We think that this was imposed by the fact that restructuring is a process that requires much time and effort. Simultaneously, new realities and tendencies emerge, and they inevitably affect restructuring. This entire complex of circumstances requires that we make a profound analysis of what we have achieved in restructuring, as well as an analysis of the new realities, and thus enrich our program of restructuring and determine the degree of the additional efforts that we must make in our future work, in order to accelerate restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army.

What are these new realities and tendencies?

First. Exceptionally complex and dynamic processes are taking place in the modern world. They were assessed and analyzed in a well-argued manner in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's elaboration "On the New Elements in the Contemporary World and Some Problems of Restructuring in Our Country."

There are **tendencies** to unite the efforts of the peoples and states in **overcoming the threat of a nuclear and ecological catastrophe,** eliminating the arms race, **and strengthening peace. These tendencies are primarily the result of the active and peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and the socialist countries, based on the new political thinking.** With the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty, mankind made the first steps toward physically destroying nuclear weapons. The prospects of reducing the strategic strike weapons have improved. Preconditions for solving regional conflicts by political means have been created. Resuming the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals inspires a certain optimism. Talks between the European states and the United States and Canada on confidence-building and security measures have also resumed.

The defensive doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact member states, which to the utmost degree corresponds to the new world realities, gives greater stability to these tendencies. Decisively rejecting the course of the arms race **the doctrine asserts the necessity of maintaining armed forces on the level of reasonable sufficiency.**

Of course, we must clearly understand that **the positive tendencies that have emerged have still not become irreversible.** The danger of war and the nuclear threat have not been removed. Among the leading circles of the NATO states there are forces that have not relinquished the policy of encouraging the arms race and maintaining tension. Their military doctrines, which rely on nuclear weapons, and the lack of adequate responsive measures to date to the initiatives of the USSR and the fraternal Warsaw Pact member countries that are related to the comprehensive disarmament program, the most recent being the unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms, prove this.

Second. We are witnessing a complex and crucial period in developing the countries of the socialist community. A fundamental restructuring of all spheres of their sociopolitical life is being conducted. New ways and means of improving the efficiency of the socialist economy and reforming the political system on the basis of developing democracy and glasnost are being sought.

Restructuring in our country is accelerating. The BCP Central Committee December Plenum became a central event in our sociopolitical life, and a test of the political maturity of every Communist and citizen of our country. The plenum gave a powerful impetus to the struggle to put into effect the BCP July Concept and clear the road for a broad advance of restructuring along the entire front.

The premises of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, included in his report and his introductory and concluding speeches at the meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with representatives of the intelligentsia, are of exceptional importance in restructuring the intellectual sphere.

All these forums, decisions, and premises have a direct influence on the work on restructuring the Bulgarian People's Army.

Third. A declaration of the Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters" was published, as well as the decisions of the governments of these states to significantly and unilaterally reduce their armed forces and military budgets.

Now we face the task of conducting broad-scale political and practical work to put into effect the obligations that have been assumed. The unilateral reduction of the Bulgarian People's Army increases the requirements and criteria related to issues of the qualitative parameters

and to our entire style and method of work and leadership, as well as to our work to improve our troops' readiness for combat and mobilization, and especially the technical level of arms and combat equipment.

Fourth. The analysis of our work in light of these realities and tendencies shows that there exist great reserves, especially in the units, for sharply accelerating restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army.

It is well-known that, on the basis of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the BCP National Conference, and the subsequent BCP Central Committee plenums, we developed **broad organizational, politicai, and scientifically applicable work for restructuring in the Army.**

We have worked out and are constantly improving our own **program.** We have outlined the directions, measures, and the final goal, namely, **raising the combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level.** We have determined **the factors**—the main strike force, ways, methods, and means of the practical and applicable activity that is related to the achievement of our strategic goal.

In this context, we adopted many measures **and developed work along a broad front**—party conferences, aktivs, collegiums, and military councils of the various military services, and official conferences—at which we analyzed the results that had been achieved and adopted measures to accelerate the restructuring processes.

Nevertheless, it is important to pose some of these issues again at this meeting of the party aktiv, with the clear awareness that by doing this we will accelerate the renewal processes in the Bulgarian People's Army.

By analyzing our activity up to now, we can state two general **conclusions.**

The first conclusion is that we have correctly determined the goal and basic directions of restructuring, as well as their contents, and that we are confidently marching along the road we have outlined. The work related to **building up and developing the Army,** with a view to bringing its structure into line with the requirements of the defensive military doctrine and existing human, financial, and material resources, so that it can better meet the needs of the future decades, is being conducted successfully.

The second conclusion is that the pace of restructuring and the quality of the results achieved are still low, are not what we would wish, and do not satisfy us.

What, more specifically, are the results of our work related to the most important directions of restructuring?

First; concerning the work related to raising combat and mobilization readiness to a qualitatively new level.

The majority of the Communists approach the solution of this problem with elan and precision, in accordance with the structural changes. The efforts are correctly directed toward optimizing the methodology of transferring the organs of management and the troops from peaceful to military conditions, and the preparing and conducting of combat activities in accordance with the capacities of the modern combat equipment and the premises of the defensive doctrine. The structure of the mobilization organs and the Civil Defense organs is being consolidated in accordance with the new territorial division of our country.

Second; about the development and application of achievements in scientific-technical progress:

The concern for the development of scientific-technical progress is increasingly becoming established as an irreversible, distinctive feature of the style of work of the majority of Communists that belong to the leading staff. The introduction of new information-communication technologies is playing a role of great importance in their activities. **The achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and, in particular, trends that are related to strategy, such as electronics, are applied in all spheres of army life.** Modern programmatic and technical means and systems are being introduced at accelerated rates. This is particularly significant as regards the work of the Ministry of Defense organs, of the armed services, and of military scientific-research institutes, of the G.S. Rakovski Higher Military Academy, and the other higher educational institutions in creating and perfecting patterns for combat action. The scientific-research, experimental-engineering, and practical application activities connected with the needs of the specialized, technical, and rear services of the Bulgarian People's Army are also assuming a more specific character.

Third; about the training of troops:

Considerable efforts by the Communists at the Ministry of National Defense and in the armed services are devoted to **perfecting the structure of the training year and to the optimal improvement of planning activities, organization, and leadership of the training process.** The concern of Communists working in the operational and tactical units in trying to achieve **more tangible results** is further increasing. Communists belonging to the leading staff are devoting growing attention to the **intensification of combat training activities** on the basis of a qualitative improvement in the training materials. The control activity and assistance provided to them by the Ministry of National Defense and by the armed services are **assuming a more purpose-oriented and more coordinated character, and are becoming more effective.**

Fourth; about work related to strengthening discipline.

Certain positive changes have occurred in this respect, related to the work of commanders, political organs, and party organizations.

At this conference I would like to point out that the present **efforts of all actors should concentrate upon further consolidating the systematic and comprehensive approach in the struggle to strengthen discipline:** Comprehensive Army life should proceed in strict conformity with the requirements of the Army Statutes and instructions. Army personnel should be educated in a spirit of lofty political consciousness, a sense of responsibility, strict discipline, and operational efficiency.

Fifth; about the implementation of the BCP's social policy in the People's Army.

The concern of commanders, political organs, and party organizations for the implementation of this policy in Army life is being intensified. The housing program is being implemented at a regular pace. Work in the rear services of the People's Army, in the Army services, and in all organs of the Ministry of National Defense, in the higher military educational institutions, and in the major part of units and groups of units related to questions of food supplies, material supplies, housing, health care, and medical services is proceeding in full accordance with the scientifically established norms.

Sixth; about work with cadres:

The work of Communists, party organizations, and political organs in the Ministry of National Defense, the armed services, and troops, the G.S. Rakovski Military Academy, and the other military schools related to **the education, long-term training, and development of the cadres** is proceeding in accordance with the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution and of the changes that have occurred in the military sector.

Seventh; about party-political work:

The contribution of party-political work to the further intensification of the restructuring process and to the qualitative improvement of the Bulgarian People's Army's readiness for combat and mobilization has increased. The influence of party-political work in clarifying the application of party policy to Army life has increased as well. Party-political work today is more **actively contributing to the consolidation of the Leninist style** in the activities of commanders, political organs, party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, and to the further democratization of sociopolitical life in the Army and within the labor collectives. The essence of ideological work has improved, as has the role of ideological activities in **developing the new political thinking** of the cadres and of the Army personnel with regard to a correct evaluation of the military-political situation and the tasks stemming from the defense doctrine. The party organizations increasingly **assert themselves as the political nucleus of the collectives** in the process of renewal.

I should, nevertheless, point out that some of the Communists, commanders, political organs, and party organizations **are incapable of fully utilizing the rich opportunities of ideological work in developing the creative energies of the Army personnel.**

The report further points out that **the existing contradiction between the requirement to achieve a qualitatively new development in the troops' combat readiness and the substantial shortcomings in the style and methods of work of the subjective factor** (namely, commanders, political organs, the Komsomol, and trade union organs and organizations) is the main reason for the shortcomings that have been allowed to occur in implementing the restructuring process.

This reason was repeatedly pointed out in our joint work, as we see. Nevertheless, this important reason is acquiring a totally new ring, as the writers would say, or a totally new significance, as we would say in less poetic, military style. This new significance, however, is determined by the historical stage of development which we have reached in accomplishing our revolution on a large scale. This revolution is aimed at the renewal of socialism on the basis of the present-day scientific-technical revolution. In the context of Army life, however, the aforementioned new significance requires qualitatively new parameters in the style and methods of our work to increase the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army to a qualitatively new level.

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The trends and tasks of restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Army have been clarified.

The problems and tasks stemming from the evaluation of present-day realities and from the requirement to further develop the Bulgarian People's Army and increase its combat strength under the new conditions are assuming a particularly topical significance today.

It is evident that the **new realities that exist in the world and in our country today have created a new situation, characterized by particular traits which we should take into account.** This situation requires that we should change some of our views and approaches, and reject certain stereotypical ideas and cliches in coping with important problems of political, organizational, and educational work.

What do we have in mind, in this particular case?

First: The recently emerging trend of uniting the efforts of different peoples and states in disarmament and consolidating peace naturally intensifies the peace-loving attitude of the public in our country, and this also applies to the Army. This fact confirms the correct foreign policy of the BCP and expresses the people's increasing hopes of living and working in an atmosphere of peace and security.

Along with this, however, the policy of alleviating tension and the unilateral reduction of armed forces and military budgets **have an exceptionally strong impact upon the awareness of the soldiers and the population in our country.** This causes much thought and in certain cases, mainly as a result of an incorrect interpretation and an insufficiently thorough evaluation of the positive changes that have occurred in the world, it even arouses doubts about the future of the Army, as well as trends toward pacifism and other negative attitudes, with all their harmful consequences. It is evident, however, that **the positive changes do not and should not justify any complacency.**

In this connection, I would like to stress that our contemporary Army, regardless of the level of its numerical and combat staff, is and remains a regular Army, and this situation will not change as long as states exist in this world.

This is the reason why we are obliged **to develop even more active and offensive ideological and political activities among the Army personnel** in order to block the aforementioned negative attitudes and to nip them in the bud. It is necessary to **prove, on the basis of solid arguments, that under the new conditions today we should increase our political vigilance and maintain the combat readiness of the troops at the level of sensible sufficiency that will guarantee reliable security for our country.** Sensible sufficiency, however, should always be based on quality parameters in the broad sense of this concept.

The firm conviction that it is necessary to maintain a modern and powerful army, equipped with new standards of quality, excellent training, combat capacity, and an unshakable moral spirit should be instilled in the Army personnel and in the leading cadres, above all. Such an army should be capable of safeguarding the peaceful construction of socialism. Alongside this, systematic care should be devoted to increase the social prestige of Army personnel and the status of professional officers.

We should not forget that, in addition to all this, **the role of the Army will be further enhanced in the new conditions, and there will be a further increase in the prestige of military service as a tested school for the young people's military-patriotic and Communist education, as an educational institution preparing for a multifaceted and highly effective participation in building up socialism.**

Businesslike work, close relations with soldiers, a humanitarian approach, and justice, all based on Army regulations and on the requirements of military service, should of course be at the core of our work with the Army collectives. Public opinion should be more thoroughly examined and sociological research should be further developed in this connection.

In addition to this, the question of further improving and **consolidating our relations with local party, state, and social organs and organizations** emerges in this respect. This would contribute to intensified cooperation in coping with our common tasks related to the military-patriotic and international **education of youths.**

Second: The new realities require that the weight should be shifted from quantitative to qualitative parameters in our work that is devoted to further developing the Bulgarian People's Army.

This task requires that we further improve the work of the combat staff in the People's Army to perfection, that we improve the organizational structure of administrative organs and troops, that we develop and bring into service weapons and technical military equipment at accelerated rates, on the basis of the most updated technologies, that we intensify the training of our troops on the basis of scientific-technical progress, and so forth.

Third: It is necessary to unrelentingly apply the tested party policy of confidence, support, consolidation, and development of the cadres in the future. The attitude to restructuring and every individual's real contribution to the acceleration of this process should be considered as a guiding principle in work with the cadres. It is our responsibility **to devote special care to the cadres, to their consolidation and development, and to assist all those who are working according to the new methods, namely with total devotion.**

Fourth. The new conditions require us to pursue our work by further consolidating the principle of one-man command in coordination with the **expansion of democracy and glasnost** in the Army, by taking into consideration the specific aspects of military service and the requirements of state and military secrets. This activity by commanders; political organs; party, Komsomol, and trade organizations; and all Army personnel should combine **in dialectical unity the guarantee of the people's rights, the intensification of their social activities, the consolidation of their awareness, and military discipline that is as strong as iron by seeing to it that every soldier fully accomplishes his functional duties.**

The development of democracy and glasnost in the Army increasingly requires **man to be the focus of the commander's entire organizational and party political work.** It should be well understood that certain changes will occur in the mentality of the young people who will attend military schools and perform their military service in the future, changes which are the result of the expanding democracy and glasnost in our society. These young people will distinguish themselves by showing quite different qualities than those seen in the past. This circumstance requires **us to search for and find updated methods and forms of training and education in the Army, and to renew the living conditions and activities in the Army.**

The situation also requires Army personnel to be systematically and fully **informed** about party and government policies; about changes in the international situation, within the country, and in the Army; about current achievements, positive experiences, and problems in the struggle for restructuring.

The acceleration of the restructuring process strongly demands that the efforts of all elements—by the commanders, political organs, and by party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations—be directed toward drastically **intensifying the initiative, creative power, and activities** of the entire Army's personnel and at enhancing the soldiers' responsibility in the struggle to achieve qualitatively new standards in the training and combat readiness of the troops.

The first, basic, and decisive factor, as a I have pointed out on several occasions, is the role of the **one-man commander.** His situation and role are determined by the Constitution, the laws, and the military statutes which invest him with **extensive rights.** At the same time, and especially today, during the process of innovation, he is also subject to considerably increased demands related to the Army and to himself, as a commander. He also bears **tremendous responsibilities.** The commander is the first leader, organizer, and coordinator of all activities in the respective military collective.

I would like to stress that the following points acquire particula importance in further asserting the commander as the decisive and primary factor of restructuring:

In the first place, we should point out his qualities, and above all his ideological conviction, his profound dialectical thought, and his capacity to correctly react to the dynamic processes taking place in the world, in our country, and within the Army today. Such qualities should be combined with **excellent training, competence, and awareness of all innovations, loyalty to principles, discipline, and high moral standards,** which are particular characteristic traits of the contemporary commander.

In the second place, these qualities are valuable only as long as they are implemented with real deeds and practical work. The commander's skill in applying a **political approach,** in working under the conditions of democracy and glasnost, in relying on the party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, in fully using the capacities of all other organs in the Army are the priority requirements for the commander's style of work. The commander should constantly care for the soldiers' material, cultural, and social needs and interests. He should view his tasks on a long-term basis and provide for good planning, organization, and **strict order** in order to achieve high standards in implementing these tasks. In addition to this, he should be concerned about educating his subordinates in the spirit of those virtues that are mostly in accordance with the present requirements and the prospects of development in the Army.

The second factor is represented by the political organs and deputy commanders in charge of political work. Their role and place as leading organs in party-political work are unmistakable but under the conditions of restructuring the requirements addressed to them have drastically increased. The following priority requirements related to their practical work should be pointed out:

First. Systematic concern **for increasing the contribution of party-political work to the acceleration of the restructuring process,** in order to establish the most favorable sociopolitical and moral-psychological conditions in connection with intensifying the role of the human factor in the struggle for qualitatively new standards in military training and education is required. With even more militant political zeal we should struggle against manifestations of formalism, ostentation, showing off, and complacency, and against poor work standards in order to totally eliminate all negative phenomena in the work of the collectives.

Second. We should mention the requirement for better use of scientific potential by the political organs in the People's Army, so that **ideological and political tasks stemming from the existing realities and the new factors emerging in the struggle against ideological diversion and imperialism may be elucidated in a timely way and may be explained based on strong arguments.** This is a particularly topical task today, when people are increasingly better informed, a fact which naturally enhances their interest in problems and trends of development related to the world, our country, and the Army in particular. Efforts to update the teaching of social sciences in higher educational institutions, as well as Marxist-Leninist training in the Army, and all other forms of ideological work in accordance with the new requirements should be further pursued. On this basis we should also intensify our activities in educating the Army personnel in the spirit of the new military-political thinking and we should also intensify their activities and increase their sense of responsibility for accelerating the restructuring process.

The third factor is represented by the party organizations within the Army.

As a result of the new conditions their activities are subjected to new requirements as well. Let us describe them:

First. The BCP Central Committee December Plenum put emphasis on the political responsibility and on the work of party organizations and leaderships and all Communists in connection with implementing the ideas and principles of restructuring with practical deeds. The party organizations in the Army today are required to exercise an even greater influence in order to promote the political maturity, the personal example, and the vanguard role of the Communists in order to educate them and all Army

personnel in the spirit of ideological conviction, correct psychological attitude, enthusiasm, and a sense of responsibility for reaching high standards in implementing their tasks.

The skill of party organizations and leaderships in contributing to specifying the party strategy in connection with accomplishing specific tasks assigned to the Army and labor collectives, in transferring party work to the crucial areas of restructuring, where ideas have to be implemented with deeds and theory must be applied in practice, is of particular importance in this respect.

Second. The requirements related to the work of commanders, political organs, and deputy commanders in charge of political work have acquired new dimensions today. They are aimed at the **most complete implementation of the political, organizational, and educational functions of party organizations** and at diversifying and enriching the meaning and substance of party work. It is evidently necessary to take more care to enhance the competence, role, and authority of the elective organs, namely of party leaderships and secretaries.

The fourth factor—is related to the role of the Komsomol in the Army in connection with perfecting its structures, functions, and tasks. Applying the positive experience accumulated over the years and the valuable traditions of past work with Army youth, we should thoroughly reassess the new requirements, and in accordance with them, **change the views and the approach of commanders, political organs, and deputy commanders in charge of political work related to the activities of Komsomol organizations and associations. Greater opportunities should be provided for the expansion of the independent activities of the Army Komsomol.**

The increased party requirements and the specific conditions in the Army under which **the fifth factor—the trade union organs and organizations—operates, requires their contribution to accelerating restructuring to be revealed in greater contrast.** They should even more actively help to ensure that service, production, and economic tasks are fulfilled to a high standard of quality, strengthen labor and technological discipline, develop scientific and technical progress, resolve the disputes that arise on a lawful basis, and educate the trade union members.

The report stressed that two fundamental principles stem from the new "defense doctrine," principles that are absolutely binding on all of us in our work on further building up the Bulgarian Army.

The first principle is the principle of reasonable sufficiency. **The second one** is the principle of quality parameters. Both principles apply to the entire command staff of the Bulgarian People's Army both laterally and vertically, with the exception that some of the obligations of the different levels vary.

What are the directions in which we should apply these principles, in order to genuinely meet the demands of the time for accelerating the restructuring processes in the Bulgarian People's Army and achieve the desired radical change? These directions are:

First, organizationally and structurally developing the Bulgarian People's Army.
Second, completely supplying the Bulgarian People's Army with all the modern armaments, combat equipment, and ancillary equipment that it needs.
Third, drafting new plans, programs, and instructions for training in the Bulgarian People's Army.
Fourth, further improving the plans and programs for training the officer and non-commissioned officer cadres of the Bulgarian People's Army.
Fifth, bringing the training-material base of the Bulgarian People's Army up to a modern level.
Sixth, and exceptionally important, raising the style and methods of work on the main factors we described above in the report to a new qualitative level.

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The aims and tasks are clear to us. The factors have been defined, as well as the ways and means for their implementation. **Accordingly, at this stage each and every one of us is required to display a high degree of political awareness, a high sense of responsibility, and iron-hard party and Army discipline in all spheres and all things, and to radically improve our style in all the above factors; all these are essentially dependent on operational efficiency, high standards of planning and organization, and the expansion of creativity, initiative, and activity on the part of all Army personnel in order to accelerate restructuring and achieve the main goal, namely to raise the Army's combat readiness to a qualitatively new standard.**

There can be no doubt that the Communists in the leading organs of the Ministry of National Defense, the armed services, troops, and the entire personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army will not spare their brains, strength, and energy in implementing this highly patriotic and responsible task.

Zhivkov Visits Sevlievo 22 Mar; Talks to Leaders

AU2203201489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] On 22 March Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited Sevlievo. At a meeting with the Bureau of the Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] he was briefed on the socioeconomic development of the municipality under the conditions of self-management. Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke about some basic issues of the country's development and stressed the necessity of more effectively asserting the municipalities as basic socioeconomic communities.

Afterward our first party and state leader visited the newly established (?"Vidima") company, the "Rositsa" knitwear plant, and the small (?plug-producing) plant at the local agro-industrial complex.

Later on, at the culture club, Comrade Todor Zhivkov met the party, economic, and public aktiv of the municipality. He stressed in his speech that restructuring of all spheres of sociopolitical life continues. On the eve of the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum on agriculture, he devoted special attention to strengthening and improving the existing forms of socialist property, the sensible and efficient utilization of the forests, pastures, and water resources, the development of mountainous agriculture, and the improvement and expansion of the company organization.

Shevardnadze Receives Bulgarian Ambassador
AU2203203489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] On 22 March in Moscow, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, received Georgi Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, who requested the meeting. They reviewed Bulgarian-Soviet relations and the prospects of developing new forms of cooperation in all areas in accordance with the essential requirements of restructuring in the two countries.

The firm determination of the USSR and Bulgaria to strive toward fundamentally improving the world situation, achieving further progress in the area of arms reduction and disarmament, and strengthening European and general security was expressed.

The importance of the active efforts to develop friendly and goodneighborly relations among the Balkan countries and turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons was pointed out.

Legal Liability for Company Agreements Viewed
AU1703181989 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 11, 15 Mar 89 pp 4, 5

[Article by Solomon Rozanis, Supreme Court judge: "Negotiating Contracts"]

[Text] It is forecast that as the Decree on Economic Activity is applied, there will be an expansion in economic activity and economic turnover, which implies that the numbers of business deals and the parties contracting them will also increase. A great number of deals will be concluded between companies, or at least one of the parties to the deals will be a company. The contracting companies need to be sure that the planned deal really takes place.

A company is granted a loan that it is required to pay back within a set term. A company is paid for goods that may prove to have defects. A company has undertaken an obligation to carry out a construction job or to fabricate a structure, but the company may not be able to complete the work on schedule, or the fabricated structure may prove to be of poor quality. If the party contracting with the company does not want to run risks, and wants to know how its interests will be protected, whom can it call to account, and who will pay it compensation?

Parties considering whether to conclude contracts with companies are able to consult the company registers at the district courts, which are public and accessible to everyone. Absolutely anyone may apply to the district court for information on any fact recorded in the register, and check not only the register, but the company's file as well, which contains the documents required for registration. What is more, anyone may ask the court for a document stating the facts recorded in the register. The court is obliged to provide the requested information and to issue the requested document.

A very important point is that every fact or circumstance recorded is deemed to actually exist. What is not recorded, and yet exists, does not exist for a third person or a party considering a contract with the company. One is referring to a conscientious third person, not to one who knows about the existing fact or circumstance from other sources.

From the company register, the would-be contracting party will learn first of all about the organs and persons that constitute the company, but he must also be informed about the method by which they are entitled to represent the company; for example, whether the company has empowered a single person to represent it, or has established a collective representation: two or more persons authorized in common to accept obligations for the company. The company's file also includes specimens of the signatures of the persons who represent the company. Finally, one also has to know the extent of the powers of representation. The company may limit itself to certain deals or to deals of a certain size. A deal made with a person who has no reliable representative authority is valueless. It is a deal between the contracting party and a person who purports to be a representative, but this solution is hardly likely to please the person who has put his trust in the deal.

In the case of contracting with one-person companies, the person comprising the company carries unlimited liability for the company's obligations, not only in respect of the company's property, but also with regard to his own personal property.

The collective citizens' company is not a legal person, because of the fact that when one of the associates undertakes an obligation, he does not bind the company, but only himself. He is responsible for the obligations personally and to an unlimited extent. A possibility exists of seeking payment of the obligations from the other associates, but this possibility is rather difficult to implement in practice. If a party wants to make the other

associates liable as well, he should, at the time when the obligation is undertaken, insist that the obligation be undertaken by them in common, and moreover demand that they stand surety for the obligation undertaken.

An associate citizens' company is a legal person, that is, a person existing separately from the associates. This person is primarily responsible for the obligations undertaken by the company, but all the associates are liable in common for these obligations; the creditor may, at his choice, demand that the entire obligation be fulfilled by any single one of the associates. Each of them is liable to the creditor in respect of his personal property up to the amount of this property at the time when the association stopped fulfilling the obligation. The liability of the associate also extends to the past history of the association to obligations relating to deals concluded before an associate was accepted as a member.

The unlimited company, which is also a legal person, has two types of partners: those with unlimited liability, and those with limited liability, up to the extent of the contribution they were obliged to put into the company. Partners of the first type have the same liability toward third parties as the associates in an associate citizens' company, that is, unlimited liability in common with retrospective effect. The partners of the second type are also jointly and retrospectively liable, but only to the amount of the agreed contribution.

The participants in a limited company are responsible for its liabilities in the same way as the members of an unlimited company that carries a limited liability. However, the Decree on Economic Activity contains a different provision in this context. It is established that the liability of the partners is limited to the share contributions that they have made or are required to make to the statutory capital. At the same time, it is pointed out that a partner who has not paid in the agreed share contribution may be excluded [izklyuchen]. Accordingly, a party intending to sign a contract with such a company should assure himself whether, and to what extent, the partners have paid up their recorded contributions.

A joint stock company has its own established capital. This is its own property, which is quite different from the property of the shareholders. The company itself, not the shareholders, is responsible for the company's liabilities. More exactly, the latter are only responsible to the extent of the amount of their shares. Thus, just as the shareholder receives dividends in the event of favorable business results, he also bears the consequences in the case of a loss.

State, municipal, cooperative, and subsidiary companies are liable to the extent of their own property. The same also applies to companies of the social organizations. The state is not responsible for the liabilities of a state company, nor the municipality for those of a municipal company. Conversely, the state company does not bear responsibility for the state's liabilities, nor a municipal company for those of the municipality. The same rule must be similarly applied in the case of the other types of companies, as it stems from the companies' independence.

A party contracting with a company should know that apart from a surety, the liabilities of the company may also be guaranteed by a lien on the company's movable property or by a mortgage on its real estate. The claim of a creditor who has duly arranged such a guarantee is met from the pledged movable property or mortgaged real estate before the other creditors' claims are satisfied. In the event of the liquidation of a company, amounts of money are first allocated to settle those liabilities that are secured by a lien or mortgage, and the residue is distributed proportionately between the remaining creditors. For social reasons, there is a provision for unpaid labor remuneration and other similar liabilities to be settled by the company first, before dealing with the claims of the creditors secured by liens or mortgages.

From the legal viewpoint, the above is the minimum amount of knowledge that we must possess when negotiating contracts with companies. Of course, information is also needed on the companies' economic, technological, and other capabilities, but these are matters for other specialists.

Further on Jaromir Johanes Speech to Assembly
LD2203123389 Prague CTK in English
1516 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's foreign policy was the first point on the agenda of a two-day joint session of the Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations which opened here today.

A report on the basic issues of Czechoslovakia's foreign political activity was delivered by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. He stressed that "the foundation, well-tried and lasting, of our action on the international scene is constituted now as before by our close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other states parties to the Warsaw Treaty."

"We are taking an active part in peaceful reformation of international relations based primarily on their democratization, demilitarization and humanization. This means involving in the international dialogue all states, large and small, as well as the broad spectrum of political, peace-promoting, avocation-oriented and religious organizations, movements and forces," the minister said.

He pointed out that "in the past period we joined forces with our allies and all realistic forces in an active endeavour to foster confidence-building and disarmament. The course of our action in this respect is determined primarily by the objective of providing for equal security for all."

"Together with the other states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, we are making efforts in order that special talks on tactical nuclear weapons be started as soon as possible. For Czechoslovakia it is not and, indeed, cannot be a matter of indifference when attempts are being made to modernize, or to provide compensation, for, the nuclear potentials deployed to the west of our borders."

The Czechoslovak foreign minister went on to say that "the Vienna follow-up meeting (of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—CSCE) has been a momentous milestone in these endeavours, considerably advancing the CSCE process to which we have contributed our share. The concluding document from Vienna, which we have agreed upon toegther with the other 34 participating states, will go down in history as a chapter opening up new avenues in the development of our continent."

Jaromir Johanes further stated: "Elevation of cooperation in the sphere of human rights to a truly higher level requires that inter-state relations not be encumbered with ideological confrontation and that an end be put to pressing one's own opinions and ideas on others. As we emphasized already in Vienna, it is necessary to conduct a serious and unbiased dialogue on these issues, to refrain from unfounded accusations of non-compliance with the adopted obligations as well as from attempts at influencing our internal developments from outside. We shall resolutely oppose any undertakings to such ends as they contravene the principles of the Helsinki Final Act as well as the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting. Questions relating to the implementation of the Vienna document must be considered in a responsible manner, in accordance with its provisions."

Jaromir Johanes pointed out that in the past period Czechoslovakia has become known to the European public also as the author of foreign-policy initiatives of its own and continued: "Of crucial importance in this respect is the proposal for the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states as put forward by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes. It is meant to be our concrete contribution to implementation of the idea of a common European home and to furtherance of the Helsinki process in all its aspects."

The minister said that "there is an organic connection between the initiative aimed to establish the zone of confidence and the proposal of the federal prime minister, Ladislav Adamec, to organize a meeting with the heads of government of the countries bordering on Czechoslovakia on protection and formation of the environment."

Jaromir Johanes also stressed the Czechoslovakia's "resolute attitude towards combatting international terrorism is manifested, inter alia, in our proposal to the British Government for a joint Czechoslovak-British initiative in the United Nations. Its purpose would be to initiate talks on the conclusion of a convention on the control of plastic explosives."

The minister added that the proposals Czechoslovakia has put forward jointly with the German Democratic Republic for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor and a chemical-weapons-free zone in central Europe are still valid.

Speaking of Czechoslovakia's foreign relations, Jaromir Johanes said inter alia that "we are gradually proceeding to new effective forms of cooperation with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which are bringing greater mutual benefits. We are taking part in coordinated assistance to those states. A substantial contribution to the development of our relations will be undoubtedly made by the planned visit of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to those countries."

The minister also pointed out that "in the past period we have established relations with the European Communities. We wish to expand them in all fields of common interest. The accelerating comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism is creating favourable conditions for intensification of trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation, for development of

industrial cooperation, establishment of joint ventures and other sophisticated forms of collaboration. Considerable interest exists on our part in enhancing political dialogue."

Jaromir Johanes pointed out that Czechoslovakia maintains at present diplomatic relations with 136 states. It has 89 embassies, 6 permanent missions, 14 general consulates and 2 consulates abroad. Promotion of its culture is pursued by 10 cultural centres.

"An important instrument of implementing the objective of the Czechoslovak foreign policy is constituted by international agreements. Our system of treaties governing our external relations has been further expanded in the past period. Presently we have altogether 1969 bilateral and 886 multilateral treaties with 127 states," the minister said.

On Czechoslovakia's relations with capitalist states, Jaromir Johanes said: "Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are stabilized. There are continuing contacts among political and other representatives of the two countries. Economic as well as cultural, humanitarian and ecological cooperation is being intensified. Concrete implementation of the conclusions from the talks conducted by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Prague is going on, on the whole, successfully. At variance with these positive trends are some completely unjustified pronouncements directed against Czechoslovakia in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Our relations with the Republic of Austria are intensive and widely developed. Last year's visit of the Federal chancellor to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as well as the talks held by the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries in Vienna in December last year have contributed to their development. In the recent period voices not benefiting good neighbourliness have been heard from the Austrian territory. In our opinion, it is in the interest of both states to concentrate on strengthening cooperation and mutual understanding.

"The visit of President Francois Mitterrand of France to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the end of last year has opened up new possibilities for further intensification and enhancement of our relations with France. We have proceeded to implementation of its conclusions. Our relations with Greece, Spain and Italy are resting on our active political dialogue and mutual interest in development of economic cooperation."

Jaromir Johanes pointed to Czechoslovakia's good relations with Finland, to the traditionally good level of its cooperation with Cyprus, and stressed: "We are ready to continue in a constructive manner the established dialogue with the Vatican and strive for mutual acceptable solutions in the outstanding issues in our relations."

The minister further said that "the recent visit of the Danish minister of foreign affairs has been a further important step towards intensifying the political contacts and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation. We are finding many positions concurring with our own in Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg which creates good conditions for intensification of our relations. We are ready to further our active political contacts and economic cooperation with Norway and Turkey."

"In relations to Britain we intend to build on the attained good level of contacts and work for development of cooperation in the fields of mutual interest. The same applies to Canada.

"We seek possibilities of ameliorating our relations with the United States of America. We are willing to consider any proposal of the new administration, provided that it is based on the principle of equality and mutual respect."

"In our relations with Japan we are striving to apply concrete proposals for enhancing cooperation especially in the economic, scientific and technological fields," Jaromir Johanes said.

Assembly Approves Measures on 'Public Order'
LD2203142189 Prague CTK in English
1333 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—A two-day joint session of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations ended here today.

The supreme legislative body today approved the legal measures agreed upon by the Federal Assembly Presidium on February 14, 1989 and aimed at protecting public order. The measures were adopted at a time when the Federal Assembly was out of session and therefore was now, in harmony with the Czecholsovak constitutional laws, submitted to the deputies for additional approval.

This legal amendment to the penal law and the law on minor offences was necessitated by the need to ensure more effective protection of public order. It provides for stricter penalties against those disturbing public order by raising the upper limit of six-month imprisonment for impeding the powers of a public official to one year and setting higher fines.

The deputies also discussed and approved a bill on the Federal Assembly order of procedure and a bill on its deputies. The first of them creates conditions for the further improvement of the legislative activity and for development of socialist democracy. The new amendment will e.g. authorize the Federal Assembly to decide about holding a referendum on bills with especially serious social effect.

The second bill is aimed inter alia at increasing the role and authority of the Federal Assembly's deputies and their responsibility for the implementation of the task of the supreme legislative body. Among other things, it creates a mechanism for the deputies giving accounts of their activity anytime in the course of the election term.

Pro-Yeltsin Rallies in Moscow Noted

LD2303093289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Around 15,000 Moscow citizens demonstrated in front of the Moscow city committee yesterday to express their support for Boris Yeltsin's election program. According to today's issue of RUDE PRAVO, those who took part in this unauthorized demonstration called for the introduction of a multiparty system, the formation of a broad popular front, and the establishment of the so-called free trade unions. Yesterday's demonstration was already the third such event in support of Yeltsin's candidacy in the past 5 days.

People's Party Conferences Discuss Restructuring

LD2003185689 Prague CTK in English 1344 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—District conferences of the Czechoslovak People's Party which took place from mid-February to the end of last week evaluated the activity and position of the party in the current stage of restructuring and democratization of society in Czechoslovakia.

The People's Party is the biggest of the four non-communist political parites active in Czechoslovakia, having approximately 45,000 members. It has its branches in Bohemia and Moravia. The district conferences dealt with the implementation of the tasks set by the party fourth congress in March 1987.

A report, presented to the delegates to the conferences by the party Central Committee, pointed out the specific character of this political party, which associates mainly Christian-oriented citizens. "The Christian world outlook is a uniting element of our varied membership, and Christian thinking and feeling lead us to the awareness of deep moral co-responsibility for further development of Czechoslovak socialist society", the report stressed.

The participants in the conferences supported the proposal, presented by the party Central Committee in the framework of the preparations of a new Czechoslovak constitution, that it enshrine the position of non-communist political parties in the Czechoslovak political system. The Czechoslovak People's Party, as a member organization of the National Front, which is the basis of socialist political pluralism in Czechoslovakia, recognizes the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in society.

The participants also supported the proposal of the Central Committee to formulate in the constitution, in a wider and more detailed way than before, the freedom of conscience, the right to a world outlook, belief and conviction and their confession, i.e. also the relation of the churches and religious communities towards the state.

The conferences had an impact on the activation of the party's deputies to the national committees. Their number in the Czech Socialist Republic amounts to over 2,000. A total of 32 party members are deputies of the Czech National Council and the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

In May, the party will organize regional conferences. The present course of this party activity shows that the next, the fifth, party congress will be held one year earlier, i.e. in 1991, in harmony with the tendencies to speed up comprehensive restructuring in Czechoslovak society and the decision of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to convene its 18th congress one year before its regular turn.

CPCZ Congratulates MSZMP on Anniversary

AU2203133989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 89 p 1

["z"-signed report: "Congratulations to Hungary"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee has sent the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee the following telegram on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils:

Dear Comrades: We send you comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

Influenced by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Hungarian working people took power into their hands on 21 March 1919 and peacefully created a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That victory fully affirmed the validity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism under various national conditions, and it was received by progressive forces with enthusiasm and profound sympathy. The new socialist government began implementing a program of fundamental changes ensuring the social and political rights of the working people. Despite the fact that the best forces of the revolution had to be diverted from construction work as the result of imperialist intervention, the extensive opportunities opening to the working people, led by a united revolutionary workers party, became fully revealed. The legacy of the Hungarian Republic of Councils is being implemented in the program of socialist construction of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The foundations for strengthening cooperation between the progressive forces of our countries were laid in the period of the workers government. The ideas of proletarian internationalism found their expression in a common struggle against reaction and, in particular, in the proclamation of the Slovak Republic of Councils. The present fraternal relations between the CPCZ and the MSZMP, which are the foundation for the development of friendship between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian peoples and for comprehensive CSSR-Hungarian cooperation, are also linked to progressive traditions.

On the day of this important anniversary in the history of the Hungarian people and the workers movement, we wish you full success in the feat initiated 70 years ago by the Hungarian revolutionaries.

Reform Blamed for Increasing Goods Shortages
AU2303100189 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 22 Mar 89 p 1

[Natalia Duriancikova article in the "Let Us Ponder Together" column: "Relations Without Relations"]

[Excerpts] Have you noticed? In shops one increasingly hears the question "What have you got?" instead of "How much does it cost?" Such a situation exists on the market when demand exceeds supply. Consumers know from their own experience that this has also been the case for quite some time in our country. Thus, one is justified in asking whether the situation in trade, now that it has begun operating under the new conditions, will improve.

The first 2 months of the state enterprises' work still have not yielded any marked results. However, experience from last year's experiments has already revealed quite a bit—and also in the problem-ridden supplier-consumer relations. [passage omitted]

What has experience revealed?

That entrepreneurial success or failure is closely connected with supplier-consumer relations. In connection with the increased powers of the state production enterprises, these problems have even been growing, because the production sector—on the basis of the principle of self-financing, the right to determine its own system of deliveries and sales, as well as on the basis of the curbed interference from the center—concentrates only on profitable products. And also because it has given preference to resolving its economic effectiveness, to the detriment of the demands of the market. [passage omitted]

And therefore, "sole" suppliers are "effortlessly" ensuring their sales. The customer is frequently forced to accept inferior quality, an overpriced product, and unfavorable shopping conditions. When shoes are difficult to come by, he might buy more expensive ones. The seller's market absolutely cannot be transformed into the buyer's market. In order to achieve money-market equilibrium in the next few years as the fundamental prerequisite for the functioning of supplier-customer relations, it is already now necessary to find the definite solution for this sphere. And not just by instituting partial measures....

Activist Hajek on State Leadership, Opposition
AU2203171689 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 22 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with "CSSR human rights activist" Jiri Hajek by Christoph von Marschall in Prague: "The Prague Leadership Wants To Keep All Its Options Open; the CSSR Only Supports Gorbachev's Foreign Policy But Does Not Want To Allow Perestroyka in Domestic Policy"—date not given]

[Text] Prague, March—In his capacity as spokesman for the "Charter 77" civil rights movement, Jiri Hajek has repeatedly sharply criticized the CSSR Government for its violations of human rights. Born in the Bohemian city of Krhanice in 1913, the political scientist and jurist Hajek originally joined the Social Democratic Party and, after it was incorporated into the Communist Party in 1948, became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. During the Prague Spring, Hajek held the post of foreign minister. In a speech that he gave to the International Security Council after the invasion by Warsaw Pact forces, he called for the immediate withdrawal of "all foreign troops, even if they belong to friendly nations." He had to resign shortly after this. In 1970 he was even expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. In January CSSR authorities prevented him from visiting Bonn to attend the celebration of Willy Brandt's 75th birthday. Christoph von Marschall interviewed Hajek in Prague:

SZ: Mr Hajek, FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker invited you to Bonn to the January celebrations on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Willy Brandt. The CSSR authorities refused to issue you a visa, arguing that your trip was "not in line with state interests." What was behind this decision?

Hajek: It is of course very difficult for me to seek, find, and interpret the decision or the motives of the government. I can imagine that maybe it was not convenient for the leadership of the CPCZ to allow a man who is a nonperson in their eyes, to travel to a place where he would be a counterpart not only of leading Western politicians, but also (Polish Premier) Rakowski or (the head of the International Relations Department of the Soviet Central Committee) Falin. I can imagine that these people at the top had to give this issue quite some thought, because I originally was to receive a decision on 12 January. However, it was not until 18 January that I received the negative decision; they turned my application down. I can imagine that this question has probably become a prestigious question for our leadership.

SZ: This was also at the time of the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square.

Hajek: Yes, it was at a time when the political leadership wanted to clearly demonstrate its power, its monopoly on power, but also its monopoly on the truth, and in that situation my trip might have embarrassed the leadership.

SZ: Viewing CSSR politics of the past year from the Western point of view can be very irritating. After all, there were two official demonstrations, but in the following weeks the security forces reacted once again with truncheons and arrests. At times one gets the impression that the leadership tries to appear as being open, but it then once again passes harsh sentences, as in the case of Vaclav Havel, who was sentenced to 9 months for hooliganism. What is hidden beneath this "back and forth policy?"

Hajek: The whole dilemma of the current CPCZ leadership that also represents the center of state power. After all, it is the same leadership that after the intervention against the Prague Spring, was put into power in 1969, as a team that was to suppress all the Prague Spring reforms; a team that has also been responsible for the virtual destruction of the intellectual, technological, scientific, cultural, and also ethical potential of the country; a team that introduced a system here that has been condemned as the system of Brezhnevian stagnation in the very place from which our leadership was imported; a team which is now facing a situation—even though it does not want to recognize it—in which the USSR is carrying out reforms and experiencing a process similar to that which developed here in 1968 during the Prague Spring, and which was suppressed with the help of this group. It is paradoxical that this same leadership which was installed by Brezhnev now is calling upon national traditions to oppose the new wind from Moscow.

SZ: In the meantime a breath of fresh air is blowing through Moscow, and the question now is where Prague has remained during this process. Hungary and Poland are among the progressive countries, the GDR and Romania are trying to delay the process, and one gets the impression that Prague is sitting on the fence, that it cannot make up its mind. Where do you place the Prague leadership?

Hajek: On the one hand these people are loyal toward Moscow. They want to be loyal. They recognize Soviet hegemony in this part of Europe and do not want to directly oppose it. However, on the other hand, by their very nature they are very conservative and dogmatic—by their very nature they constitute what Gorbachev calls the braking mechanism on perestroyka. Somehow they are trying to get out of this dilemma while their main concern is to remain in power. On the one hand it is true that they fully support Gorbachev's foreign policy, and they also want to do everything for economic cooperation with the USSR, but on the other hand, as far as reform in our country is concerned, they want to change as little as possible. Here the braking mechanism is very strong, and there is above all a very strong fear of democracy, of real democratization.

I think that at the end of the day, they expect that Gorbachev will not really succeed. Maybe they are not certain. And they want—maybe somewhat differently from Ceausescu, and, I am not certain here, differently from Honecker—to keep both options open. Success or failure? If the project fails then they will certainly be glad if it entails complications. However, they will somehow want to wait and see whether the effort succeeds.

SZ: ...So as to always be on the right side....

Hajek: Yes. They will somehow want to adapt themselves to the situation. They will probably have to resign themselves to the fact that, nevertheless, they will have to step down sooner or later. There are certain signs that certain people are already preparing for this, or that they are at least giving signs in this direction.

SZ: What is the present situation of the opposition in Prague or of the nonconformists, if you will, and what opportunities do they have for their activities?

Hajek: Well, I would say that general developments have brought about a more favorable situation. While during past years—I would say up to 1987—it was only Charter 77 that represented an independent civil movement, a number of new initiatives have been established in the following years, and what is more, young people, the bulk of the young people, have become active—people who in 1968 were still very young and who did not have to suffer the frustration of the suppression of the Prague Spring. These people are emerging with fresh ideas, optimism, and openness, and they are also meeting with a response from the older generation. This became particularly evident during the January demonstrations on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Jan Palach.

SZ: Where do you place your hopes for internal reforms, not only in the economy and foreign policy, but also that a new thinking in CSSR domestic policy will likewise emerge? Does any pressure for such a development have to come from the outside, or do you think that it can also be built up domestically?

Hajek: One has to count on both elements. After all, this is mainly our cause; it is above all the cause of the CSSR people, who somehow have to stand up for their right to self-determination. I think that more and people are doing so, even though it is not yet the majority. However, people are increasingly becoming aware of their rights as citizens, of what one calls personal courage. This is becoming more and more obvious. It is clear, of course, that a lot always depends on the power structures, and that the pressure not only has to come from the bottom, but that there must also be a certain change within the power structures.

SZ: In Poland the government and opposition have come together at the roundtable to discuss problems and the future of the country. Has the Prague leadership ever approached the opposition with such an idea, and what are each side's conditions for a dialogue?

Hajek: I do not know whether there have been such proposals for other nonconformist groups. There are so many of them now: the Charter, different peace groups; the Democratic Initiative, which links itself to Masaryk; the "Children of Bohemia," a John Lennon peace group; and the Association of the Friends of the United States. Our group has not yet been approached by the leadership. There are forces who would like to at least hold talks with the nonconformists. However, it is well-known that the CPCZ does not want to surrender its monopoly, and that the groups are supposed to join the ranks of the National Front and recognize the Communists' claim for leadership. The CPCZ rejects dialogue with antisocial forces and wants to establish the only valid definition of what these are. These are conditions that the nonconformists cannot accept.

SZ: The West finds it difficult to predict and appraise personnel changes in Prague. It was not the favored, alleged reformer Lubomir Strougal who more than a year ago became the new head of the party, but rather Milos Jakes. However, hardliner Vasil Bilak also had to resign. The elderly President Gustav Husak has suffered a stroke. Another Slovak, Jozef Lenart, is said to become his successor. There are also rumors that Miroslav Stepan, the Prague party chief, is to replace Jakes. How important are these questions of changes in certain posts?

Hajek: I cannot tell you much about this speculation. However, it is of course clear that there are differences even within the party, and it is possible that there may be changes. A Central Committee plenary session will be held late this month. The rumors about these changes are also a sign of insecurity. Just as within the nonconformists, there are also younger people within the party who were not involved in the suppression of 1968 and who are able to think rationally.

People's Chamber Adopts Electoral Law Annex

LD0303180389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1413 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The supplement to the electoral law adopted today by the GDR People's chamber has the following text: Law on Supplementing the Law on Elections to GDR People's Assemblies—Electoral Law—3 March 1989

The Law of 24 June 1976 on Elections to the GDR People's Assemblies—Electoral Law—(legal Gazette I No 22, p 301) in the version of 28 June 1979 law amending the Electoral Law (Legal Gazette I No 17, p 139) is supplemented as follows:

Article 1

In section 3 the following is added as the third paragraph:

"(3) Foreign citizens are permitted to vote for district (kreis) assemblies, town assemblies, town borough assemblies, and community assemblies if they have reached the age of 18 on election day, have resided in the GDR for more than 6 months and are domiciled in the relevant district (kreis), town, town borough, or community; and

—are in possession of a residence permit on the basis of an employment contract with combines, enterprises, cooperatives, or institutions of the GDR or a course of study at a university, college, or vocational training school in the GDR; or

—they are permanently domiciled in the GDR on the basis of a residence permit (aufenthaltserlaubnis).

Article 2

1. In section 4 the following is added as paragraph 2:

"(2) In district (kreis) assemblies, town assemblies, town borough assemblies, and community assemblies, foreign citizens too can be elected under the conditions specified in section 3, paragraph 3."

2. The previous text of section 4 becomes paragraph 1.

Article 3

This law comes into force on the 6 March 1989.

Daily on FRG 'Hypocrisy' Over Order To Shoot

AU2303095789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 89 p 2

["G.P." commentary: "The FRG's Hypocrisy"]

[Text] It is just one week ago that our paper published the order to shoot for members of the FRG armed organs. As the original text published by us shows, this is an order with specific service instructions about when and under which circumstances firearms are to be used against persons.

However, Bonn remains silent. And the silence is so uniform that the guiding hand cannot be overlooked. Even though FRG Government circles and the mass media do not let a single day pass without lamenting the GDR order to shoot, they are trying to hide the truth about their own practice from the FRG public. The FRG's entire hypocrisy becomes obvious if one recalls the facts. Thus, Bundeswehr soldiers, who have been given guard or security tasks, are permitted to use firearms "in case of deliberate unauthorized destruction of military hardware or facilities, if this endangers the security of the FRG or human life." On guard duty "an aimed shot is to be fired if the person tries to flee despite a warning or a warning shot, and can be prevented from fleeing only by an aimed shot. An aimed shot is to be fired if this can prevent a particularly serious assault." Policemen, officials of the border forces, of the customs investigation service, or officials of federal authorities (for instance, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution) are permitted "to use firearms, also against persons," who refuse to follow their orders.

As one could read in our paper, in the meantime no lesser body than the Federal Court of Justice, the highest FRG court, expressly confirmed the above-mentioned FRG order to shoot in a judgment of principle, by acquitting a customs official who had shot a person trying to evade a customs check in the back with an aimed shot from a submachine gun. In its judgment, the court admitted that any shot may "injure or even kill the fleeing person." Longer consideration of circumstances or consultations were not possible because "only an immediate shot promised success."

These are facts that speak for themselves, which, however, are kept quiet in the FRG, obviously not without a specific purpose.

Commentary Criticizes West German Missile Plans

LD1603115389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0219 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Is Bonn taking a stand-off position to disarmament?" asks "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" in a commentary today on the latest FRG missile plans. The paper claims that weapons circumventing the INF Treaty have "long been planned by the

Federal Army and the MBB [Messerschmitt-Boe/Kow-Blohm] arms combine." After the details on the land-based Kolas nuclear missiles were made known in February, the television magazine program "Report" now says that there are also plans for an airborne nuclear missile, a so-called stand-off weapon, with which Tornado aircraft are to be equipped.

The new missile is particularly suited to a surprise attack, according to the newspaper. "It is suited to those 'deep strikes,' of which NATO General Secretary Woerner and the leading Federal Army generals have so often spoken—strikes against centers of the Warsaw Pact political and military leadership; strikes against communications centers, traffic junctions, airfields, military headquarters and troops, and supply camps, and so on; strikes into the heart of enemy territory, even as far as USSR territory."

The "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" report continues: "With Kolas, the dangerous grasping for the fiendish nuclear thing, even in the FRG, was considered an 'incredible occurrence' and was described abroad as a scandal that could endanger the whole disarmament process. We will have to wait to see whether this time the Federal Government will keep a meaningful silence or will once again beat a temporary retreat.

"However that may be, on the banks of the Rhine there are forces at work that stubbornly oppose the requirements of the time and the will of the people. The least we can deduce from the stand-off weapons is that Bonn is taking a stand-off position to disarmament."

Pentagon Criticized for Continuing Arms Buildup
AU2303101489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 89 p 2

["-ng" commentary: "Accompanying Music by the Pentagon"]

[Text] After assuming office, U.S. President Bush had asked for a period of 90 days to check his country's foreign and security policy and to set the future course. Afterward, his administration does not intend to "miss any opportunity to work for peace," he said in his first speech before Congress.

The checking has started. However, at the moment smooth checks are hindered by the fact that—as one learns from press reports from Washington—several key positions have not yet been filled in the government bodies that are responsible for foreign affairs, the military, and arms control. This, it is said, delays or renders difficult a coordinated determination of positions. However, what is causing concern in many places are certain distinct discordant tones with which the Pentagon and the media submissive to it accompany the policy checks that are taking place behind closed doors.

Hardly a day passes without verbal promotion of a forced arms buildup. As if there had never been negotiations with the Soviet Union on the halving of strategic nuclear arsenals, the spokesmen of the military-industrial complex call for the putting into service of new and more modern first-strike weapons. They consider indispensable either further dozens of MX missiles, which are equipped with 10 warheads each, or 500 mobile Midgetman missiles. Their list of demands also contains strategic bombers, additional submarines, and space weapons.

The dimensions of the intended new round of the arms race was made clear a few days ago by a Defense Department spokesman. He said that there are 94 weapons programs that are already under way and extend far into the 1990's, totaling costs of $818.6 billion—more than two-and-a-half times the annual military budget. Not permitting any cuts if possible and fixing the White House in the long run on a qualitative arms buildup through high technologies in the nuclear and in the conventional area—this is what characterizes the Pentagon's contribution to newly determining U.S. policy.

Of course, this leaves no room for the questions which have to be answered at the latest after the 90 days have expired: When and with which concept does the United States intend to continue negotiations with the USSR on the treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons? What do they plan to do about the ABM Treaty? What do they plan to do regarding a general and complete nuclear test ban? How do they want to promote the fastest-possible conclusion of a convention on the worldwide ban of chemical weapons and the destruction of their stocks?

Honecker, Stoph Congratulate Hungarian Leaders
AU2203133389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 89 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations on 70th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils; Telegram From Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph to the Party and State Leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have conveyed the following greetings telegram to Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]; Janos Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP; Prof Dr Bruno Ferenc Straub, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people, we convey cordial congratulations and greetings to the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the fraternal Hungarian people.

The Hungarian Republic of Councils, which heroically braved the attack by the forces of internal and external reaction for 133 days, forever occupies a permanent position in the history of the Hungarian people and the international workers movement. It is one of those significant revolutionary events at the beginning of a new epoch of world history that were initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time, the heroic days of the Republic of Councils are an inseparable component of the joint struggle of solidarity of the German and Hungarian workers class, and of all progressive forces against war and for socialism and peace.

Completely in this spirit, the firm alliance and the close friendly relations between our parties, states, and peoples also stand the test today.

We use this occasion to wish you, dear comrades, and all working people in the Hungarian People's Republic much success in further advancing on the path of socialism.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Honecker Congratulates Belgian Communist Leader

AU2203133189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 89 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations to Louis van Geyt; Greetings to the Chairman of the Union of Belgian Communists"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has conveyed the following telegram to Louis van Geyt, chairman of the Union of Belgian Communists:

Dear Comrade Louis van Geyt,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf, I convey to you cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on your election as chairman of the Union of Belgian Communists.

We wish you much success, health, and creative vigor in your responsible activity.

With communist greetings,

SED Central Committee
E. Honecker, general secretary.

Agriculture Minister Meets CSSR Counterpart

AU2303110489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The agriculture ministers of the GDR and the CSSR, Bruno Lietz and Jaromir Algayer, had a discussion in Berlin on Tuesday [21 March] on closer production cooperation and specialization, as well as further steps in the coordination of the 1991-95 plans. The aim is to generally achieve higher efficiency in cooperation in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry. The ministers stressed the priority accorded to the key technologies in further agricultural cooperation between the two fraternal countries. Subsequently, they signed the protocol on scientific-technological and economic cooperation between the two ministries in 1989-90.

During his stay in the GDR, Minister Jaromir Algayer visited the microelectronics center at the Berlin Agricultural Machinery Repair combine, the Eberswalde Slaughter and Processing Combine, as well as scientific facilities and agricultural enterprises.

Tisch Holds Talks With Socialist Trade Unionists

AU2003115189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, met with the chairmen of teachers' trade unions of socialist countries in Berlin on Thursday [16 March]. They had a lively exchange of opinions on the role and tasks of trade unions in socialism, especially on their responsibility for the class education of the young generation. [passage omitted]

Delegations from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Sovict Union, and Hungary participated in the meeting. Experiences on topical questions of social development, especially in the socialist countries' education, were exchanged and the further development of cooperation between the teachers' trade unions and their work for peace and disarmament discussed. [passage omitted]

Grosz Visit to USSR, Talks Previewed

LD2303101789 Budapest MTI in English 0815 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (MTI)—The Soviet leaders are looking forward to the visit by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], with profound and great interest, MTI's Moscow correspondent reported. This can be explained by the growing interest demonstrated for Hungarian home policy and economic processes.

In an interview broadcast by the Soviet TV on Wednesday evening, Mr Grosz said that the agenda of discussing would include issues of economic cooperation and the related problems to be tackled, as well as cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA.

Mr Grosz is to arrive in Moscow Thursday evening, and commence his official programme Friday morning with a tete-a-tete discussion with Mikhail Gorbachev. The informal discussions will continue at a lunch with limited attendance. In the afternoon, before returning to Budapest, Mr Grosz is to give an international press conference. The Soviet press has carried regular reports on the latest developments in Hungary. Sympathy is deomonstrated primarily for the similar endeavours of the two countries. Nevertheless, concern is also shown for the danger of some of the processes running out of control, and that haste might endanger the achievement of the goals set down, and some extreme views might become too dominant. A significant reaction was induced by the debates in Hungary over the 1956 events. It is emphasized the Moscow that the latter issue can necessarily affect relations between HSWP and CPSU, therefore due attention should be paid to avoiding simplifications.

Grosz Visits Interior Ministry 20 Mar

LD2003232189 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, visited the Ministry of the Interior on Monday.

The general secretary held an informal consultation with the members of the ministry's party executive committee on topical political affairs and the situation and work of party organizations.

Grosz Visits Defense Ministry 22 Mar

LD2303215989 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], paid a visit to the Ministry of Defence.

He was welcomed by Deputy Minister Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army, and Brigadier General Istvan Bracsok, secretary of HSWP's People's Army Committee.

Mr Grosz held a discussion with members of the HSWP'S People's Army Executive Committee on current social political issues and the position and tasks of the party organizations.

Pozsgay Says 1945-62 Trials To Be Reviewed

LD2203230189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] We have received news from Peter Magyar about Imre Pozsgay's news conference in Rome. Pozsgay led the Hungarian party delegation to the Italian Communist Party congress which ended today.

[Magyar] Imre Pozsgay gave his account of his talks in Italy at an international news conference at noon.

He was very pleased to experience, he said, the great interest shown by everyone toward Hungary and the reforms taking place in our country.

He said that we have undertaken an unprecedented task: the democratization and transformation of the East European Stalinist state organization. We want to establish a constitutional state, and the chances are good that this transition will be successfully carried out through mutual agreement and without a national catastrophe, said the minister of state.

The questions by the foreign press largely referred to his visit with the pope. A Hungarian and a Polish patriot met and discussed vital questions of mutual interest, said Imre Pozsgay. However, this was not the point. The pope, he said, was told what sort of new legal guarantee will be given in Hungary for freedom of conscience under the new constitution and the new church law, and that relations between church and state will be freed from all patronage. Imre Pozsgay pointed out that the Catholic Church can play a very important role in the success of the transition to pluralistic democracy. Imre Pozsgay said that he told the pope about the Hungarian Government's decision to reexamine the political trials between 1945 and 1962, including the trials of church figures. The review of the Mindszenthy case is also among these, he said. This was received with satisfaction in the Vatican.

Several people asked about the Romanian situation. The minister has pointed out that this is not a question of Hungaria-Romanian relations and arguments; it is not a Balkan brawl. An unparalleled violation of human rights is taking place in Romania, one that affects every European because it destabilizes the European situation. Every civilized government has to know what to do in this matter, and we trust in this solidarity, he said.

We followed the Italian Communist Party congress with great interest, he said. The intention to seek renewal and new forms of self-definition have made a deep impression on us. We believe that the ideological stand of the Italian party is general and that it is also true of us; there is no socialism without democracy.

Further on Cardinal Mindszenty Trial

LD2203192389 Hamburg DPA in German 1701 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Rome (DPA)—The Hungarian Government wants to reexamine the trial of Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, who was sentenced to life in prison 40 years ago for alleged espionage and high treason. Mindszenty, who was released from compulsory confinement during the 1956 uprising, sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest after the uprising was quelled, until he left the country 15 years later. He died in Vienna in 1975.

Imre Poszgay, Hungarian minister of state in the premier's office, said that he had informed Pope John Paul II in Rome today of his government's decision to review the case against the Catholic primate. The review of the case would be part of the reexamination of all political proceedings against the clergy in the period from 1945 to 1962.

In an audience with the pope, which took place in the Vatican on Monday, John Paul II's visit to Hungary planned for the fall of 1991 was discussed. Pozsgay stressed that there were plans in his country for legislation to guarantee freedom of conscience. The Catholic Church would be able to play a "wider role" in Hungary as the country's largest religious community.

Historians Interviewed on Imre Nagy Era

LD2103173589 Budapest MTI in English 1514 rMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 21 (MTI)—'The Hungarian Government of the time resisted to the very last the pressure exerted by the Stalinist leaders of the socialist countries who called for a radical retaliation,' said Dr Mihaly Korom, professor of history at the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political High School, in an interview carried by Tuesday's "NEPSZAVA". The historian justifies his statement by the fact that the trial was held and the historically tragic sentence only passed in mid-June 1958. According to Mr Korom, this step was the only possibility for the Hungarian leadership to block the way before a Stalinist-Rakosiist restoration. This danger, he says, was still imminent at the turn of 1957-58 since the Stalinist fuglemen of the Kremlin were even distrustful of Janos Kadar. This is why they decided that, if required, they would return Rakosi to Hungary "to restore order", Mr Korom says.

"NEPSZAVA" also interviewed historian Istvan Toth, professor of the political high school. The two professors share the view that Imre Nagy was the first and most charismatic communist reform politician of the 1950s. Most views of Imre Nagy and the party's reform wing have since been seen as justified and can be regarded as the pathbreakers of the current socialist renewal. According to the historians, the former prime minister committed errors. Mr Toth expounds that in late October and early November 1956, in a very difficult political and psychological situation lashed by nationalist slogans, good intentions and political naivity became the hallmarks of the prime minister. As a consequence, he tried to meet the demands of the counter-revolutionary forces of the streets with repeated concessions and withdrawals. Concerning the termination of the Warsaw Treaty and the declaration of neutrality, Mr Korom says that an experienced politician, such as Imre Nagy, should have been aware that, even under peaceful circumstances, a multilateral international agreement can only be terminated and neutrality achieved through long-lasting talks and mutual agreements.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Romanian Relations

AU2303102989 Vienna KURIER in German 23 Mar 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi by Georg Berenyi: "The Hungarians Are Now Looking for Help in Their Conflict With Romania"; date, place not given]

[Text] "We are no longer upset about the recent, spectacular confrontation," Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi says, referring to the controversy at the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva, where the Hungarian representative accused Romania of "severe violations of basic human rights" while his Romanian opponent reproached Hungary for "pursuing irredentist goals that they have in the back of their minds." "The Romanian leadership is obviously irritated by how openly we have expressed our opinion."

Bringing up the issue at the United Nations—after it had rejected the internationalization of this question of Transylvania for many years—indicates a complete new turn in Hungarian foreign policy, Benyi said. He gave four serious reasons for this change: Romanian's failure to keep all the promises that it made at the meeting between Grosz and Ceausescu last August in Arad; Romania's strictly ignoring further Hungarian initiatives (the Romanians are not even ready to conclude a cultural agreement); the continuation of national minorities in Romania being forcibly assimilated; and finally, the growing flow of refugees (some 13,000 were registered up until late 1988, and, according to Benyi, a new and even stronger wave of refugees is expected as soon as the weather improves).

"We have reached a point where Hungary is no longer able to master the refugee problem alone, both in political and economic terms." The government therefore decided to join the Geneva Refugee Convention and, at the same time, to establish refugee camps in the east of the country and in Budapest.

Says Benyi emphatically: "The fact that, unfortunately, part of the Hungarian minority in Romania view these measures as an encouragement to flee is by no means in line with our intentions."

Hungary has now made an offer to the UN Human Rights Commission to "cosponsor" the Swedish initiative for dispatching a special envoy to Romania to examine violations of the law. Says Benyi to KURIER: "If a country does not meet the responsibilities it was entrusted with by the international community, it must suffer the consequences. Romania has to realize that it has to deal with European public opinion and not only with Hungary."

Does he expect support from the Warsaw Pact? "For the time being, only in the context of bilateral relations, but not from the community of states."

Have contacts with Romania been completely cut? Benyi firmly denies this. "We want to try the impossible ourselves." They want to stimulate contacts between Hungarian and Romanian cultural institutions—a project which is being initiated at the moment—to achieve at "the midlevel" what does not work at the government level.

What about the future? Benyi answers quite clearly: "Regardless of Romania's suspicions, we start from the principle of absolute respect for national borders. Our long-term goal is to achieve the situation that already existed in the late forties, during the time of Petru Groza: a legal, political, and cultural autonomy for the national minorities in Romania. We want to work out a clear plan for this objective to be ready when the Romanian side provides partners to discuss this issue."

Red Cross Briefs Press on Romanian Refugees

AU2003145789 Budapest MTI in English
2004 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 16/03/1989—In the past few days more than 100 refugees from Romania who have arrived to join relatives in Hungary, have turned to the Hungarian Red Cross. According to the data of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under family reunification more than 200 people have received exit visas, said Arpad Alfoldy, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Red Cross (HRC) at the Thursday [16 March] meeting of the HRC national board. In 1988, more than 13,000 refugees were granted a residence permit in Hungary. The Red Cross provided aid in cash, furniture and clothes on more than 30,000 occasions. So far 26.5 million forints have been contributed to the central relief account, out of which more than 18 million forints has been allocated to those in need. The value of objects of use and clothes offered for the refugees totalled 20 million forints.

The HRC social committee in charge of refugees holds it necessary to set up an office of refugee affairs, which would coordinate national activity and supervise the receiving stations.

National Assembly Resumes Session 22 Mar

Agenda Outlined

LD2203113589 Budapest MTI in English
1020 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, march 22 (MTI)—Following a two-week interval, the session of the Hungarian parliament which commenced on March 8th, resumed on Wednesday at 10 a.m., presided by Matyas Szuros. MPs are to complete their debate over the programme of parliament, envisaged for this year. Legislators will then discuss the new strike bill, which has been modified several times. they will be briefed on preparations of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo, which will be followed by a debate. Today's session will be concluded with interpellations, questions and replies.

The first proposal was a request for the parliament to draft a bill for the protection of non-smokers.

According to the decision of parliament, drafting the bill on the protection of non-smokers will not be included on this year's agenda. Following, Rezso Nyers, minister of state responded to questions by announcing that the new economic plan now being worked out by the government is expected to be concluded by the summer and presented to parliament in the autumn.

The session continued with a briefing by Matyas Szuros, parliamentary spokesmsan, on the other subjects proposed for parliament discussion by the MPs. Independent proposals include that parliament discuss the new press bill as soon as possible, that the date set for the election of MPs be brought forward to the beginning of 1990, and for the decision on the new constitution to be taken by the newly elected parliament.

As a third item of the agenda, the debate over the new strike bill commenced. The draft was presented by Dr Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour. The presentation already includes opinions, proposals for modification, emerging from the earlier social and parliamentary committee debates.

Debate on Strike Law

LD2203205389 Budapest MTI in English
1456 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—At the Wednesday parliamentary session in Budapest, the introductory report on the strike bill delivered by State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the State Wages and Manpower Office, started the debate on the strike bill. On behalf of the trade unions, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], said: "If a few

more clauses are added, the bill will meet the most important requirements that the strike law should not be restrictive and include circumstantial rules".

In his contribution, State Minister Rezso Nyers said the government's position has shifted in the direction of curbing restrictions and increasing the degree of freedom of the right to strike. The present draft proposed by the trade unions basically coincides with the positions of the competent parliamentary committee and several alternative organizations. They concentrated on the requirements that the law should be based on fundamental human rights, be in accordance with the new constitution under preparation and the UN international covenant on civil and political rights, should be of a social spirit, not connected not to the trade unions, but to the workers themselves, and in compliance with the interests of the employers, while not jeopardizing the existential conditions of society.

In the course of the debate on the strike bill, Dezso Szigethy, an MP for Gyor-Sopron County, presented the experience as well as proposals for modification included in the bill, of the far-reaching preparatory debates on the bill on behalf of the legal, administrative and judicial committee of parliament. Enumerating the most important changes, the speaker pointed out that the most widely controversial restrictive character of the bill had been eliminated: Employment is no longer a prerequisite to the right to strike. Another change of similar importance is the provision of a right to carry out solidarity strikes without alternatives, and that the bill no longer prohibits the payment of wages for the working hours missed because of strikes. The red tape restrictions of the bill have become curbed by the fact that the procedure of a secret ballot is no longer compulsory. To guarantee the legal protection for the organizers and participants of strikes, one section states: Workers cannot be dismissed from their jobs or subjected to disciplinary action on grounds of having organized or taken part in lawful strikes.

In brief, Dezso Szigethy believed that the approved alterations made for a balanced bill that is in accordance with international practice as well.

In his contribution, MP Sandor Nagy (national list), general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions made a proposal to the modification of the text of the bill, stressing, "it should be accepted that in the spheres excluded from, or restricted in, the scope of the right to strike a special regulation should prevail because of social interest. [no closing quotation marks as received] He also pointed out that, should the strike law be adopted, the Hungarian trade unions will introduce internal strike regulation in keeping with international practice. He stressed that SZOT also regards strike as a final resort, and expressed the conviction that the strike law in its present form is up-to-date and stands international comparison.

Strike Law Adopted

LD2203215789 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—In his address closing the debate, Under-Secretary of State Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour, said that the right to strike, as was pointed out by the majority of contributors, would be merely a fictive declaration without the present law. At the same time, he said, worries that the law would result in more frequent work stoppages could also be considered justified.

Speaking about concrete questions, Mr Halmos said that there can be no official or other intervention in a lawful strike. It is essential to stipulate, he said, that in connection with what has been laid down in an agreement between employers and employees, strikes could be launched only through abrogating the agreement. Concerning the question of not giving the sums paid into the strike fund, he said that this could be guaranteed by declaring the sum of contributions to the fund confidential and inaccessible to the tax authorities.

Parliament adopted the strike law, with the proposed amendments, with 17 votes against and 27 abstentions.

x x x

The speaker then announced the resignation of Miklos Vida, vice-president of the National Assembly and MP for Budapest. According to parliamentary regulations, the proposal for new vice-president will be submited in April by the same special committee which nominated the successor (Matyas Szuros) to President Istvan Stadinger, who resigned on March 10.

Politburo Recommendations to Central Committee

LD2103223189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] We have received the news during our program that today at its session, the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has analyzed the experiences of party debates carried out on the reform of the political system and that on the basis of this, it recommended that the Central Committee modify the draft stand issued on this matter.

Besides this, the body has listened to a report on the 15 March celebrations, and it will inform the MSZMP Central Committee on the experiences concerning these.

Nemeth, Nyers Attend Advisory Body Meeting

LD2003204489 Budapest MTI in English 1903 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (MTI)—The newly-composed advisory body to the Council of Ministers held its first session on Monday in the attendance of Miklos Nemeth, prime minister. The advisory body elected as its president Ivan T. Berend, president of the Academy of Sciences.

The advisory body for world economic affairs to the Council of Ministers, a new organization, held its first session on the same day. The session was attended by Rezso Nyers, minister of state. The organization elected Jozsef Bognar its president.

The advisors, relying upon the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as its intellectual source, are to comment on the social and economic processes and governmental decisions of strategic importance and, in certain cases, initiate autonomous decisions.

Lukacs Addresses Festive Rally in Debrecen

LD2203095589 Budapest MTI in English 2149 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 21 (MTI)—To mark the 70th anniversary of the Hungarian Republic of Councils and the 32nd anniversary of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ), a celebration was organized in Debrecen on Tuesday.

Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, stressed in his festive speech that the current approach to the Republic of Councils should be more open and more critical than before. Forty years after the socialist turn, Hungarian society finds itself once again at a cross-roads, he said. Any comparison to the advanced countries leads to justified discontent. Definite guidelines are necessary for social dissatisfaction to become the engine of progress.... Now, when the situation calls for radical changes, it is democratic socialism suited to the national characteristics which offers a road worthy to be followed. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has realized that a turn is necessary. The HSWP has to define itself as a Marxist-minded reform party of people working for democratic socialism, a party which accepts the existence of other political forces with the right of expounding and representing their position, Mr Lukacs said.

Marosan on Reforms, Elections, Nagymaros Project

AU1803163489 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 18 Mar 89 p 5

[Kurt Seinitz report: "Hungary's Communist Party as the Opposition?"]

[Text] "The year 1989 will enter Hungarian history as the year of great change," new Hungarian Government Spokesman Gyrogy Marosan said in Vienna this week. Marosan surprised his audience with astonishing comments, comments that were unique for communism, on the latest political events in Hungary. The following are quotations from his statements:

On capitalist reforms: "The political model that has been used to date has completely exhausted all the possibilities that it ever possessed. It is perhaps a joke of history that a so-called communist government is trying to save the whole with capitalist means. I would like to emphasize that Hungary does not have any other choice and that there is no other way out. We should integrate a large amount of the social democratic way of thinking in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (the communist party)."

On free elections: "Yes, it is certainly conceivable that after the upcoming parliamentary elections the party that today forms the government will no longer be in the majority. It would then try to form a coalition government with other parties. An opposition role is also a realistic possibility. It is important that the country does not become ungovernable and that the economy is able to function. Let us just think of Italy, where the governments are changing but where the country continues to function because of the autonomization of society."

On the Nagymaros danube power plant: "The government has inherited this project and it still believes, when all the disadvantages are considered, that completing the work is preferable over stopping it. If, however, a referendum is held—and things now look like this will happen—this government will follow the principle: 'The people's voice is God's voice.'"

Trade Minister Beck Views GDR Economic Talks

AU2103124389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with Trade Minister Tamas Beck at Budapest Ferihegy Airport by correspondent Bela Kerekes: "Tamas Beck Held Talks in the GDR—We Will Import Wartburg Cars With Golf Engines—Interview on Common and Differing Views"; date not given]

[Text] The 26th meeting of the Hungarian-GDR committee on economic and scientific-technological cooperation ended in Berlin on 17 March with the signing of a protocol. We interviewed Tamas Beck, cochairman of the committee, upon his return from Berlin.

[Kerekes] How was your trip? If I am not mistaken, this has been your first visit to the GDR as a cochairman of the committee.

[Beck] I had good feelings about this trip, and this can be explained by the fact that we held genuine and useful negotiations with both the GDR economic leaders and the enterprises represented at the Leipzig Fair.

[Kerekes] What was the atmosphere of the negotiations like?

[Beck] The atmosphere was pleasant, although this committee discusses the subjects on its agenda according to a rigid and firm choreography.

[Kerekes] We are interested in hearing about the atmosphere of the negotiations, because it is no longer a secret that the two countries have different views on the reform of economic management, and subsequently, there must have been ample reasons for arguments.

[Beck] To put it mildly, there were ample reasons for arguments, and these emerged during the negotiations. We could discern some uncertainty among the GDR economic leaders about the value of state-level agreements in the Hungarian system of economic management. We tried to ease their concerns: The agreements signed by the Hungarian Government are in harmony with the enterprise goals. We had to explain this all the more so because our turnover of goods last year was worth R2.1 billion—the GDR is our third major trading partner, and we import many products from there which, if halted, would cause the Hungarian economy serious problems. Our bilateral goods turnover is excellent too, with a value of R45 billion this year. We import mainly cheap consumer goods from the GDR, and these goods are very popular with our consumers.

[Kerekes] Should we then understand by this that you succeeded in synthetizing the differing views?

[Beck] We did not succeed in synthesizing these views, but this does not mean that we have returned empty-handed. We have signed contracts for the current year, and we also have contracts for 1990, albeit at a very low level. In any case, we have to start working out a much more up-to-date system of cooperation.

[Kerekes] To what extent are you satisfied with the results?

[Beck] We could do much more if both sides gave their enterprises greater independence for direct cooperation. There are positive examples of this, such as the cooperation between Videoton and Robotron, or the contacts between the Mezogep enterprises of Szolnok with the Fortschritt agricultural implements trust.

[Kerekes] Is only encouragement needed, or also the easing of limitations of regulations?

[Beck] Encouragement in trade relations is worthless, and regulations should be modified. For our part, we are planning many measures. For example, we are taking concrete steps to see to it that in addition to Tesco [Office of Technical-Scientific Cooperation], other industrial and trade enterprises could also employ Hungarian labor abroad.

[Kerekes] You visited the Hungarian stand at the Leipzig Fair. What did you think of its quality?

[Beck] The exhibits of the Microelectronics enterprise and of Videoton were the most impressive, but the cooperatives of the National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives were also impressive. Our stands were also quite aesthetic.

[Kerekes] Is this something new?

[Beck] Yes.

[Kerekes] Finally, you discussed the issue of Hungarian imports of new Wartburg and Trabant automobiles. What are the results?

[Beck] We signed a contract for 1989 to import 15,000 new Wartburg cars equipped with Golf engines. The price of this car in the GDR is pretty high, some 31,000 marks. I do not yet know how much these cars will cost in Hungary. As for the Trabant, there is no decision yet, and they may manufacture it with either four cylinders or two.

[Kerekes] Is it possible that we will also continue to import two-cylinder Trabant cars after 1991?

[Beck] No final decision has been made yet on this matter.

National Bank Chairman on Forint's Devaluation

LD2203040589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] My colleague, Tamas Forro, has spoken to Ferenc Bartha, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, about the reasons for the forint's devaluation:

[Bartha] Three factors played a part in the fact that the balance of payments has been worse in the past 3 months, compared to our own program. One of these is that among the population, the circulation and taking-up of currencies has increased. Another contributing factor was that, unfortunately, the tariffs on private imports are low. This gives rise to a demand for currencies, not only for travel requirements, but also for shopping requirements. The third factor is that the stock of export contracts is considerably more modest, and the stock of import contracts higher than we expected. However, I would like to stipulate that Hungary must retain stabilization in the current balance of payments because this is a precondition for Hungary's being financed from abroad. We must not reach a situation worse than this year's $400-$500 million current balance of payments [deficit]. Our aim with this step is to improve the balance of trade, curb imports, put an end to the population's advanced demand for currencies, and counterbalance here, through monetary policy and exchange rate policy, that which we were unable to create in the budget equilibrium up to the present.

[Forro] At the same time, however, the devaluation has had an inflationary effect. It can be said in our country that the rate of price increases is now slowly becoming unrealistic.

[Bartha] Opinions on this are fairly evenly divided. What we say is that price increases are determined, first and foremost, by the nature of the balance between purchasing power and demand. Because we are pursuing a very strict monetary policy, we from this side curb inflation. On the other hand, it has to be seen that the reduction of supports has this year introduced an artificial inflation, and the extent of producer price increases—which according to the plan is 8-9 percent—both from the economic political side and from the side of the enterprises has comprised a devaluation, precisely for the aforementioned reasons. Therefore, we believe that the price increase that has already taken place and which is included in the program of the enterprises contains a devaluation of a given scale, an even greater one than this 5- percent figure. Therefore, prices and producer prices will not have to increase further because of this.

[Forro] According to leaked reports, at one of the sessions of the Council of Ministers at the end of last year, you already opposed the customs alleviations. At that time you said that this carries the threat, among others, that there will be a black-market dollar price of 90-100 forints. Well, we now have that.

[Bartha] There are even more threats here. What makes us most anxious is if a situation should arise in which dollars or convertible currencies squeeze out the domestic means of payment, the forint. The Hungarian economy is built on the fact that we have thus far respected the national currency. The population has serious savings in it, and we would like to maintain these. If a process gets under way here whereby savings are transferred into foreign currencies, and domestic spending, spending by the population, goes abroad, then in our current, fairly acute balance-of-payments situation this could begin a process that we are unable to fend off, and this could have very long-range negative consequences.

I find it necessary to note that Hungary has lived through two periods of payments crisis. One of these was in 1981-82. The other was in the period of the very large-scale deterioration of 1985-86. I do not think that after two such crisis-of-confidence periods foreign countries will overlook a third one just like they did before. Also, for this reason we urge the government to do everything possible in the interest of short-term equilibrium. This is a condition for our being able to deal with the long-term unfolding [kibontakozas].

Government Report Views Trade With West, CEMA
LD2203111089 Budapest MTI in English
0928 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 22, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Why can't the Hungarian economy get a foothold on Western markets? The main reason would seem to stem from the structure of the economy, built up over the past 40 years as a result of ideological and political positions. These are the findings of a consultative committee the Hungarian Government has set up for the direction of the economy.

As a recent study has shown, the Hungarian economy depends to a considerable extent on Western imports, and most of the Hungarian economic organizations are only up to meeting the demands of domestic and Comecon [Council of Mutual Economic Assistance] markets. According to the government's consultative body, this is true not only of the processing industry, but for most of Hungarian agriculture, too. The conclusion? Hungary has to give up for good the strategy of a "Comecon-dependent, self-sufficient, and extensive development of the economy".

Hungary carries out about 50 per cent of its foreign trading activities with the Comecon countries. It buys most of its strategic raw materials and energy sources from these countries, at the same time finding outlets for most of its processing industry products in the same countries. The Soviet Union is Hungary's most important economic partner, accounting, as it does, for about a third of Hungarian foreign trade. 80 per cent of oil, 50 per cent of natural gas, 30 per cent of agricultural machinery and 30 per cent of cars in Hungary come from the Soviet Union. Hungary is responsible for exporting 90 per cent of the buses, river ships and floating port-cranes used in the Soviet Union, and supplies the Soviets with 50 per cent of their fresh apples and canned vegetables and 25 per cent of their pharmaceuticals.

The consultative government committee feels that, under the present system of multilateral Comecon cooperation, no changes are likely within a reasonable period of time. (This coincides with what Hungarian economists have been saying). Therefore, the committee of eminent economists is of the view that Hungary will have to take unilateral steps in the near future. They consider it important for the Hungarian Government to get the Comecon partner-countries to acknowledge that the Hungarian economic system is different from that of the other Comecon countries. They propose instituting changes in the plan-coordinating system, and also putting an end to the system of obligatory quotas.

The position they have come up with in the paper they produced puts forward several versions for changes to be carried out in the financial regulation of Hungarian-Soviet trade. One of these suggests that hard-currency accounting should be introduced. Experts say there are several arguments to support a solution which would maintain the system of long-term and annual inter-government agreements, but certain product quotas would not entail state obligations to deliver or buy the products in question. As far as Hungary is concerned, only companies should undertake an obligation to deliver goods after the parties have agreed upon prices and other terms.

The paper says that even if the clearing rouble accounting system were to be kept on, the significant differences in exports and imports could be counterbalanced in hard currency (at least partially).

Israeli Leumi Bank To Grant Additional Loan

LD2003153489 Budapest MTI in English
1423 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 20, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Mr Moshe Zanbar, president of Bank Leumi of Israel, opened talks with leading bankers of the National Bank of Hungary, the Hungarian Credit Bank in Budapest on Monday.

Last December the Hungarian Credit Bank and Bank Leumi had signed a preliminary agreement on opening a credit-line of USD 10 million to finance bilateral trade. The agreement stipulates that the credit line can be increased as soon as bilateral trade so requires.

Econews has been reliably informed that the presidents of Bank Leumi and the Hungarian Credit Bank were expected to sign a general credit agreement on Friday. According to sources, the agreement will help to double the value of the bilateral trade which was about 30 million USD last year.

According to banking sources credits will be used mainly to finance agricultural programmes.

Mr Zanbar, who was born in Kecskemet, Hungary, is scheduled to meet the minister of agriculture Jeno Vancsa and visit the Babolna agricultural complex.

Economic Costs of Crime, Theft Detailed

LD2003125989 Budapest MTI in English
1124 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 20, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Criminal offenses caused the Hungarian economy and individuals a total loss of 2.758 billion forints (USD 51.1 million) last year, as much as 0.5 per cent of the country's annual budget.

Some 66 per cent of the 185,344 detected criminal cases came in that category.

Slightly fewer cases were detected last year than a year earlier (1.6 per cent less).

Criminal offenses caused a damage of 1.221 billion forints (USD 22.6 million) to state property, and 1.57 billion forints worth (USD 29.1) million to private property. The latter amount is twice as big as damage caused by detected criminal offenses in 1987. Criminal offenses against state property declined by 7.2 per cent over the previous year.

The emergence of a new breed of criminals, so called "managers" whose chief job is to wash money clean, is a new feature of crimes against property. The "managers" bribe office executives and support them when they are caught by the police.

The introduction of the world passport and customs facilitations have reduced by 25 per cent such cases in which currency regulations were breached and by 20 per cent those of smuggling and the trading of stolen goods.

Socialist Youth Union Established 21 Mar

AU2303102489 Budapest MTI in English
2037 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 21/03/1989—On Tuesday, the Socialist Youth Union was formed.

It is an autonomous youth organization designed to cooperate with the Ferenc Munnich Society in safeguarding the progressive traditions of Marxism and the Hungarian and international workers' movement.

Havel Supporters 'Brutally Arrested' by Police

AU2203203989 Paris AFP in English
1952 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Katowice, Poland, March 22 (AFP)—Five Polish dissidents were arrested after forcing their way into the Czechoslovak consulate here Wednesday to protest the eight-month jail sentence recently imposed in Czechoslovakia on playwright Vaclav Havel, according to sources on the spot.

The protestors, who shouted "Charter 77", the name of the movement founded by Mr Havel and other human rights activists in Czechoslovakia, were part of a group of 13 who went on hunger strike here on Monday to demand the release of all political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.

They were "brutally arrested" by a dozen police in uniform and plain clothes about ten minutes after scaling the consulate railings, the sources said.

Mass Media Roundtable Subteam Adopts Report

LD2203202589 Warsaw PAP in English
1839 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—At its seventh session held here today the roundtable subteam for mass media co-chaired by Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski has finally agreed on and adopted a report on its work, PAP was told by Tomasz Boczkowski of the Government Press Office.

The report contains arrangements concerning the vital issues of building a new information order.

It states, among other things, that the existing system of social communicating is outdated and inadequate to the ongoing changes. A rapid building of a new information order is necessary that would reflect pluralism of the Polish society, correspond to the process of democratization, and do away with all kinds of monopolies on information. The goal of the new order should be the possibility of political subjects, groups and individuals to freely participate in all forms of social communicating.

The subteam also reached an agreement on issues linked with newsprint allocation during the period of phasing in a free market for newsprint.

An agreement was reached on TV broadcasts of programmes authored by persons enjoying mutual confidence, as proposed by the Solidarity-opposition side. Similar arrangements can be applied with regard to other political, trade union, social and religious organizations. The sides agreed that the TV and radio should comprehensively present the attitudes and views existing in Poland on particularly important and controversial public issues.

Subteam Cochairman Briefs Press

LD2303032389 Warsaw PAP in English
0032 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Co-chairman of the roundtable team for mass media Bogdan Jachacz told newsmen here today:

"We ended our work today which is important in view of the fact that everybody has been aware from the very start that this subteam tackled especially important and complex problems. The 18-page report, mostly containing convergent views and opinions, will be handed over to the roundtable political team."

Next Jachacz briefed the newsmen on the contents of the said report, its most essential message speaking of conditions for building new information order in Poland which will consist in that the activities of the press, radio and TV will increasingly conform to social needs and expectations.

The most important elements of such order in a pluralist society include establishment of publications by already existing and newly registered trade unions and other social organizations. Legal grounds are being created to this end, amendments to the press law and the law on censorship for one.

As for the question of radio and television which triggered off the most ardent dispute, the coalition-government side came out for the integrity of those state institutions managed by the Polish Government. The opposition-Solidarity side demanded separate radio and TV channels for itself.

"We expressed readiness to expand the openness of radio and TV programmes which is the case at present anyway and which everybody can see, like for instance the programme Around the Roundtable." We also agreed for radio and TV to air so-called authors programmes, to be prepared by people enjoying the confidence of both sides. These people will be presented by the opposition side to the chairman of the radio and TV committee. This proposal in no way violates our stand on the integrity of Polish radio and TV, to which the opposition-Solidarity side agreed," Jachacz said.

Political Reform Team Discusses Senate, President

LD2203233189 Warsaw PAP in English
2226 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The "roundtable" team for political reforms held its 6th meeting here today with Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski co-chairing the debates.

The meeting agreed upon amendments to the electoral law to the Sejm of the 10th term of office and reached a considerable consensus on the draft electoral law to the Senate, both documents having been submitted by the Council of State to the Sejm.

Detailed consultations concerned planned amendments to the Constitution, namely, the procedure of establishing the powers of the senate and president. The participants exchanged their views and presented opinions concerning these issues.

Much time was given to arriving at stands on the division of competence between the senate, the Sejm and the president.

While seeking solutions meant to reform the political system in Poland, the meeting stressed that the constitutional and electoral legislation should ensure the stability of the state and effectiveness of the operation of its bodies.

Economy, Social Policy Team Considers Report

LD2303042789 Warsaw PAP in English
2335 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The roundtable team for economy and social policy co-chaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski met here today for the ninth time, this time to consider the report of the subteam for mining. The team was briefed on the subteam's final settlements and divergences.

The team formulated its stance that reads in part:

The convergence of opinions on the following issues was reached: 5-day working week for miners, genuinely voluntary work on Saturdays, ways of remunerating miners taking into account workers interests and quantities of coal indispensable for the whole economy.

The team considers it necessary to work out concepts of deep systemic and organizational changes so that they be consistent with the ideas represented in the "new economic order".

The team shared the opinion that deep restructuring in the mining industry with a view to higher effectiveness, along with the restructuring of the whole economy, is indispensable. The structural changes in the mining industry must be made with regard to the social reasons of workers and trade unions and in consultation with them.

The team is in favour of forming groups of experts, appointed by the economic administration and trade unions, to work out by September 30, 1989, alternative programmes of systemic and organizational solutions for the mining industry which would take into account the work of the subteam for mining.

It would be also advisable to seek opinion on these questions from foreign experts, especially those from the World Bank, International Labour Organization and world mining congresses.

The organizational and economic-and-financial restructuring should start from January 1, 1990 and a consultative commission should be informed about progress in realization of settlements.

Next, the hitherto discrepancies in wording a "stance on social and economic policy and systemic reforms" were discussed resulting in passing a chapter on improving the market supplies and living standards.

The means for creating a market-orientated economy, including the food one, were also considered on the basis of a multivariant programme presented by the experts team from the government-coalition side. The opposition "Solidarity" side makes its agreement to introducing market mechanisms to the food economy subject to its leaderships stance, Professor Trzeciakowski said.

Opposition News Conference on Subteam Talks

LD2303032789 Warsaw PAP in English
0039 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—While opening a press conference here today, Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that the Warsaw municipal office voiced today reservations concerning the statute of the future Independent Students Association (NZS) attached to the petition for the organizations registration.

"Solidarity" will firmly come out in favour of a favourable settlement of the issue, Onyszkiewicz said. An earlier consent of the government-coalition side to the NZS registration on the basis of the binding law on associations was—in his opinion—one of the significant achievements of the "roundtable".

We are glad that our proposals were taken into consideration, said Maciej Ilowiecki while commenting on the debates of the team for mass media. It was agreed that "Solidarity" and "Solidarity of Individual Farmers" would have their weeklies. There are also plans to publish the so-called "Electoral Gazette" which will later be transformed into a daily of the so-called broad opposition.

In the opinion of Krzysztof Kozlowski one should regret the refusal to legalize "underground press and publications". As long as the issue is not settled in tune with our expectations repressions against editors and appropriation of their property should be stopped. There are already positive signs in this field, added he.

Miodowicz Speaks to Chairmen at TU Meeting

LD2203233289 Warsaw PAP in English
2202 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Trade unions existing in Poland rank high in the public opinion which can also be confirmed by their membership growing by 200,000 in recent months. So, it is not bad, but in new conditions of trade union pluralism we should be even better, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz said here today at a meeting with chairmen of nationwide trade union organizations and OPZZ voivodship chapters.

Legalization of Solidarity is already sure to become a fact. Autonomous unions are likely to apply for registration in the near future. That is why one should think of how to integrate the trade union movement. These were the questions discussed at the meeting, the participants being also acquainted with the progress of work in roundtable subteams.

The general conclusion was that the signing of a social accord, especially in the area of economic questions, is hardly possible at the present stage. That is why the trade unionists come out for a joint statement or a protocol of convergences and divergences with a clear specification of their different position on the issues in question.

The participants were also informed of a planned protest action by labour veterans who want to accentuate the urgent need to improve the financial situation of retirement and disability pensioners.

TU Official Warns of 'Grave Social Unrest'

AU2203150789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Mar 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent: "Resolving Problems"]

[Text] Warsaw—In the ongoing roundtable talks, the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] considers the most important thing to be the attainment of an agreement in the solution of economic and social problems. This arises from the conviction, with which many working people also identify, that further economic development will be a factor of decisive importance in connection with the issue of political and social reforms in Poland. One of the leading representatives of the Polish class trade unions in the roundtable talks, OPZZ Deputy Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk, said this in an interview with CTK yesterday [20 March]. He said that the class trade unions fully support the program of Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government that is focused on preferential development of agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, environmental protection, curbing inflation, and other issues. At the same time, they draw attention to the fact that, hitherto, government policy and practice, as well as some proposed new measures do not correspond to this program. They warn, among other things, that as a consequence of the continuing high growth of inflation, which can exceed 120 percent and more this year, further grave social unrest could occur in Poland.

Commentary Views Strikes, 'Roundtable' Package

AU2203210089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
20 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Majka: "What is Happening, What Is Being Talked About?"]

[Excerpts] Last week did not see an end to any of the matters that are of interest to public opinion. There were no events that might one day be considered historic. Nevertheless, last week did see a wealth of important events.

There continued to be tensions and conflicts relating to wages. I am thinking of various demands made to managers, brief work stoppages, and longer stoppages, that is to say, strikes. I consider this wave of demands, which has been sweeping the country for several weeks now, to be a phenomenon that impacts significantly on the situation in Poland, both in terms of the present and the future.

Something of a change in the character of these strikes occurred last week. Until last week they were generally confined to enterprises in which stoppages did not have an immediate tangible effect on society. Strikes were staged in factories. Society does, of course, feel the effects of the reduced deliveries to shops that strikes cause, but with a certain delay.

The only precursor of what has been happening over the last few days were the municipal transportation strikes, especially those in Piotrkow Tyrbunalski and Plock, and the protest action taken by ambulance personnel in certain cities. The qualitatively new element about the employee demands in recent days has been that they harm the interests of most of society immediately and tangibly.

This is particularly apparent in the case of the postal worker strikes that initially hit Warsaw, Lodz, and Wroclaw. The strikes took place on days on which pensions are paid out. Many people who were waiting for these payments experienced greater inconvenience and additional irritation as a result. In addition, many people and institutions did not receive important letters and packages.

Postal employees did have some reason to protest in this manner. However, this does not alter the fact that they abused the confidence of the public. They broke the rules of the game in a way for which there is no justification. The post office received appropriate payment from its clients for services that it failed to perform. The employees should be held to account, especially as employees in the communications sector have no legal right to strike. So, this strike resulted in the law being violated in two ways. [passage omitted]

Minister Wilczek impressed me by "taking the bull by the horns." The miners and their representatives are right, but the issue cannot be resolved without a clash. There must be a reduction in the national economy's consumption of coal. Miners should work a 5-day week and coal mines should operate a 6-day week. The wages that miners earn on so-called black days should ensure that their standard of living is maintained. This sounds like a political statement—and it is that—but also like a social contract. [passage omitted]

The point is that detailed agreements are of secondary importance at the "roundtable." This is because the subject of the negotiations is a package: changes in the system of the highest state authorities, ensuring an appropriate place for the opposition in this system, reaching agreement on and speeding up the Sejm elections, as well as pluralism with respect to associations, which includes trade union pluralism. This means—to avoid any doubts—the legalization of Solidarity.

However, the issue to which the opposition attaches the greatest importance is only part of the package. If there is no agreement on the package in its entirety—let us say this quite clearly—there will also be no agreement on this subject. The mandate that representatives of the PZPR were given by the 10th plenum concerns a package and not individual issues. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Attends Opening of Sejm Session

LD2203114189 Warsaw PAP in English
0904 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—A two-day meeting of the Polish Sejm began today with the following agenda: the first reading of the law on changing the Polish Constitution, the draft electoral laws to the Sejm and the Senate, the draft laws on associations, on changing the trade unions law, and on trade unions of private farmers. The agenda has been supplemented with the item of completing the composition of the Council of Ministers. The debates, attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, were opened by Speaker Roman Malinowski.

Sejm Appoints Cabinet Members

LD2303111589 Warsaw PAP in English
1015 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Acting on the prime minister's motion, Polish parliament today appointed PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] member Michal Czarski minister of labour and social policy and another PUWP member Jozef Oleksy minister-member of the Council of Ministers responsible for cooperation with the trade unions. Czarski was nominated with one vote against and 31 abstentions, and Oleksy with two votes against and 35 abstentions.

Rakowski told parliament he had left the labour minister's post vacant when he came up with the lineup of his cabinet last October as he intended an independent expert to take it. However, the people he turned to with his offer came to the roundtable talks among opposition-Solidarity ranks, Rakowski said, so he decided on another solution and took into account the candidate's professional skills only.

In another point on the agenda, the chairman of the constitutional tribunal presented the body's activity.

Last year, the tribunal instituted proceedings in 29 cases and concluded proceedings in nine cases started one year before. There were eight rulings and eleven decisions to discontinue proceedings while in six cases the tribunal made decisons that signalled a failure or lacuna in the law. The proceedings continue in 14 cases.

Politburo Schedules 11th Plenum for 31 March

LD2303020189 Warsaw PAP in English
2349 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau on Tuesday resolved to convoke the 11th Central Committee plenum on March 31.

The Political Bureau assessed the socio-political situation in this country. It said that party organizations were pointing to citizens being increasingly critical of strikes and work stoppages, especially in service and supply units.

The Political Bureau called on all party organizations to campaign for rhythmical work and to prevent conflicts in work establishments.

Members of party leadership participating in the roundtable talks informed the Political Bureau of chances for agreement and for the debate being concluded to schedule.

Party members and organizations have long been pointing to many a complex problem now being discussed at the roundtable, it was stressed at the meeting. They suggested concrete decisions but these were difficult and often outrightly impossible to make without a broad national agreement, without social consensus. The roundtable creates such a chance, the discussants said, stressing that the road to this end leads through a compromise taking account of reasons of all sides concerned.

Assessing the situation at universities, the Political Bureau said that the majority of party organizations in that milieu were working for dialogue and national agreement, winning a considerable capital of confidence and political credibility. The accomplishments of party organizations at universities create a platform for consolidation of all constructive political forces in the academic milieu.

Party organizations in institutions of higher learning firmly supported decisions by the 10th plenum of the PUWP Central Committee.

The Political Bureau came out for deep changes in legal regulations concerning the principles of restructuring and functioning of institutions of higher learning, pointing to the need of democratism and respect for their self-management.

The Political Bureau discussed some questions raised by party members during the report campaign.

It was pointed out that impulses created by decisions of the 10th plenary session often failed to be translated into concrete actions living up to current needs.

The party is at the start of a new phase of political struggle, the Political Bureau said. Today one cannot confine oneself to appeals for a "new style" of work which often conceals passiveness, uncertainty, defensive postures, it stressed.

The party should be the ally of young people, especially those groups which want to pursue a constructive activity, who want to do something useful for themselves and other people.

The Political Bureau got acquainted with a report on a working conference of party Central Committee economic secretaries from CMEA states held in Prague on March 6 and 7. The debate focused on the concept of restructuring within CMEA and on creating conditions for establishing a common market of socialist states concerned.

The Political Bureau approved the stand presented at the Prague debate by the PUWP delegation and settlements concerning the proposal of a deeper integration with a view to a CMEA common market.

Rakowski Returns From Iraq, Kuwait; Views Trip

LD2203204289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] At 1920 [1820 GMT] Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski returned to Warsaw after visits to Iraq and Kuwait. A report from Okecie Airport:

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Prime Minister, I would like to be the first to greet you because I want our television viewers to be able to see you.

[Rakowski] Yes, Yes, Yes.

[Correspondent] You had very many meetings and talks. What concrete benefits will there be from this for our economy?

[Rakowski] The strengthening—or expansion—of economic cooperation and trade exchange. Both our Iraqi partners and the Kuwaitis are prepared for an increased Polish presence, especially economically, in their countries. Basically, it all depends on us, on our dynamism, on our will, to strengthen this presence. In Iraq Poles are already there working. They are working there; several thousand people are working, but....

[Correspondent, interrupting] You had some very interesting meetings?

[Rakowski] Yes, but this is too little. Everything in essence depends on ourselves, on our people, on our firms, and on our directors—whether they want to exploit these opportunities that these states are opening up. For me it was even puzzling when everyone declared—in Kuwait as well, with which we have a rather small trade turnover, $21 million annually—please, we are open to all forms of cooperation. This depends on us, and this is the message I bring back to Poland.

[Correspondent] What are the political results?

[Rakowski] The political effects, madame: In essence all world problems—I am thinking of progress in disarmament or ending the conflict in the Middle East—on all these problems Poland has for years had a realistic stance, one that is sensible and fully humane. That is why there were no misunderstandings in the talks with our partners.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

[Rakowski] You are welcome.

Communique Issued on Tour

LD2203232589 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 22 Mar 89

["Press Communique on Rakowski's Visit to Kuwait (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski paid an official visit to Kuwait between March 20 and 22 at the invitation of Crown Prince and Premier of Kuwait Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Salim al- Sabah.

The talks of both prime ministers proceeded in the atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual understanding. Both statesmen discussed the current state of bilateral relations and outlined directions of their further development. They also exchanged views on the key international and regional problems, displaying convergent or identical views on matters discussed. The sides positively assessed Polish-Kuwaiti relations and prospects for their development. They confirmed the will to expand cooperation in all domains, the economic field in particular.

Both sides, being motivated by the will to situate Polish-Kuwaiti cooperation in a long-term perspective, determined that it is necessary to:

—Develop political dialogue between the two states, especially at a high state level,
—Hold periodical political consultations involving both foreign ministries,
—Cooperate in the international forum, including the United Nations, and expand contacts between Polish and Kuwaiti diplomatic missions in third countries,
—Favour contacts between other ministries and institutions and organizations interested in direct cooperation.

Both sides stressed the need of a further development of bilateral economic relations through increased trade, realization of joint projects, employment of highly qualified specialists, expanded cooperation in science and technology, transfer of technology and cooperation in finance and banking.

Both sides will support joint ventures both in their respective countries and on third markets, also in the chemical and petrochemical industry. They agreed upon a meeting in 1990 of a joint committee provided by the Polish-Kuwaiti agreement on economic and technological cooperation. The sides expressed the will to establish broader legal grounds for bilateral relations and to conclude agreements supporting and protecting investments.

The sides assessed the international situation, also with regard to particular regions. They expressed support for the process of detente between the East and the West and for disarmament, especially in the field of nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Polish side presented a more detailed analysis of the situation in Europe and its contribution to these processes, that is the plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

The Kuwaiti side assessed the situation in the Middle East, pointing to new determinants helping solve local conflicts by peaceful means. It stressed Kuwait's role in this domain.

The Polish side expressed recognition for the activity of the Arab League's six-strong committee for the settlement of the crisis in Lebanon.

Both sides voiced satisfaction over the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran and they came out for a full realization of the Security Council's Resolution No 598 which provides the basis for a just settlement of the conflict and for restoring peace in that part of the globe.

Poland and Kuwait reiterated their stand on the necessity of an urgent convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations. They pointed out that a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East conflict must provide for realization of the Palestinian nations' inalienable right to self-determination, reflected in the Palestine independence declaration of November 15, 1988. The sides reiterated support and solidarity with the Palestinian uprising on the occupied territories and condemned Israeli repressions against the Palestine people.

The sides determined that the official visit to Iraq by the head of the Polish Goverment was a significant event in bilateral relations and in the international scale, and that it opened up a new stage in friendly cooperation between Poland and Kuwait.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski invited Crown Prince Al-Sabah to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Rakowski Salutes SFRY's Markovic on Appointment

LD2303140589 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski sent a congratulatory cable to Ante Markovic in connection with his appointment to the post of president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Siwicki Addresses PZPR Military Conference

AU2203132789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Mar 89 p 2

["Summary" of speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, at a report-back conference of PZPR military organizations in the Ministry of National Defense in Warsaw on 18 March]

[Text] F. Siwicki described some aspects of the international and domestic situation. He emphasized the meaning of the detente trends in the world, especially between East and West, which are also having a favorable effect on the situation in our country.

Referring to the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the minister said that the party has been facing genuinely new challenges since the 10th congress. Socialism has entered a new developmental phase and a period of new reforms, which provide it with a new opportunity. It is vital not to waste this opportunity. The process of changes in our country has clearly picked up speed. These changes are our party's ideas, and this fact should be publicized boldly and loudly. These ideas must not be attributed to anyone else. A period of intense activity is in store for the party. This requires from every cell, organization, and member not only verbal declarations, but also effective practical deeds.

As uniformed personnel, we must firmly oppose young people's criticism of everything connected with Poland's past and present, F. Siwicki continued. With our service, we must reach toward the undeniable achievements of our people's fatherland. This especially applies to our

work with young people. Influence over the young generation should continue to be within our scope. Most of all, we should improve the standard of military training. This is in accordance with the requirements of civilization, society, and defense.

Discussing the restructuring of the Armed Forces, the general stressed that it is important to realize the significance of these changes and be responsible for implementing them.

Praising the work of Ministry of National Defense party bodies, General Siwicki touched upon matters that had been discussed. He said that in their daily service and work, comrades should be motivated by a feeling of concern for Poland and its future, the changes to Poland and its Armed Forces, and further progress in all spheres of military life. This concern should be expressed by a unity of party and service activity.

On behalf of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and on his own behalf, General Siwicki wished the conference participants and all party members in the Ministry of National Defense health and happiness in service and in private life.

General Siwicki Continues Visit to Syria

LD2203164389 Warsaw PAP in English
1511 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Damascus, March 22—The official visit to Syria by PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau member and Poland's minister of national defence, Gen Florian Siwicki, currently under way, is being held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

The visit is an important event in the history of Polish-Syrian relations, it provides new stimuli for their intensification and expansion. The Polish Army and the Syrian Armed Forces as well as the two geographically distant countries share a common point of view on many political and international issues, a tradition of economic cooperation and simsilar development concepts. Poland's popularity and her large esteem in the Syrian society is considerably backed by the nearly 15-year-long presence of Polish soldiers in the United Nations forces here. Those aspects, among other things, of Polish contacts with Syria were discussed, by Gen Siwicki and the Syrian Premier Mahmud al-Zu'bi.

Also, official talks of Poland's and Syria's defence ministers were held.

On the second day of his visit here Siwicki went on to Al-Qunaytirah. Finishing his trip, he paid a visit to soldiers of Syrian mechanized unit who were on combat duty in the region of Golan Heights and got acquainted with their living and service conditions.

Later on, Siwicki accompanied by a Syrian Air Force commander visited an Air Force and air defence unit.

On the third day of the visit, the Polish minister met in the Polish Embassy in Damascus with workers of Polish institutions and offices operating in Syria.

Talks With European Community Open in Brussels

LD2203043189 Warsaw PAP in English
0000 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Brussels, March 21—Two-day negotiations between Poland and the EC [European Community] on a trade and cooperation agreement began here today. The Polish delegation is headed by department head in the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Olechowski.

After four rounds of preliminary talks, an opinion prevails here that the agreement should be signed this year, possibly even in the first half of 1989.

The most controversial issues will be certainly financial cooperation and annulment of import quota for Polish goods.

Court Case Against Spokesman Jerzy Urban Settled

LD2203190189 Warsaw PAP in English
1740 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—A hearing in the case against government Spokesman Jerzy Urban brought to court by a group of scientists was held at the voivodship court here today.

At the outset of the hearing, the plenipotentiaries of the sides confirmed their hitherto stands. Following a short recess and statements on the motives to strive at an out of court settlement of the case—in which the plenipotentiaries of the defendant particularly stressed the intention to contribute to the process of national agreement—the sides reached a settlement reading:

Lawyers Miroslaw Brych and Jacek Kondracki, acting in the name and upon the authorization of government press Spokesman Urban, state that they express regret at the fact that the government press spokesman mentioned Prof Magdalena Sokolowska, Prof Klemens Szaniawski, Prof Bronislaw Geremek and Dr Janusz Onyszkiewicz by name during a press conference on April 22, 1987 and in further press statements in the context of the spy activities of American diplomat Albert Mueller which could have given the impression that the plaintiffs participated in these activities, although the government spokesman next clearly stated that he had not made such an accusation and the intention of his mention was different, his statement being based on information coming from reliable agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Moreover, they express regret to Prof Magdalena Sokolowska for the use of the word "infamy" in the government spokesman's explanation carried in the "RZECZPOSPOLITA" paper on April 25-26, 1987.

Lawyers Ryszard Sicinski and Edward Wende, as the plenipotentiaries of the plaintiffs, accept the above statement and, acting in the name and upon the authorization of the plaintiffs, state that they are withdrawing the complaint.

After the above settlement was reached and in connection with the withdrawal of the complaint, the voivodship court in Warsaw decided to discontinue the case.

Justice Minister's Revision in Onyszkiewicz Case

LD2203220789 Warsaw PAP in English 2042 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The minister of justice has lodged an extraordinary revision in the case against Janusz Onyszkiewicz in his favour, charging that the sentence passed on him by the district court in Warsaw limited the defendant's right to defence.

The minister has motioned to the supreme court to lift the verdict and have the case reviewed by the district court.

Onyszkiewicz faced a misdemeanour court in central Warsaw on May 7, last year under charges of undertaking activities aimed at stirring up public unrest, above all by passing on information—altered in a biased manner or false—about the socio-political situation in Poland to Western mass media, including those pursuing hostile activities against Poland. The misdemeanour court at that time meted out a 1.5-month arrest to Onyszkiewicz.

The next day Onyszkiewicz's defence lawyer filed a motion to have the case directed to court proceedings. The district court for Warsaw found Onyszkiewicz guilty of the deed he was accused of but changed the punishment to 2 months of restriction of liberty.

The files on the case go to show that during the case heard by the district court the defence motioned for 8 witnesses to be examined stating at the same time that 5 of them were present in the court building, stated the minister of justice in his revision request, adding: The defence lawyer also motioned for a video tape to be screened which in the opinion of the defence reported the course of events associated with the charges pressed against the defendant. At that time the district court permitted evidence to be submitted by only one witness, dismissing the remaining motions as not being significant for the case.

One cannot share this stance, the extraordinary revision reads. The minister of justice pointed out that the district court breached principles stemming from regulations of the penal procedure, violating the right of the defendant to defence by forwarding evidence motions concerning circumstances of importance for the case.

Commentary on Union of Siberian Deportees

AU2303112189 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Reiff: "The Union of Siberians: Genesis, Goals, Tasks"]

[Text] The establishment of the Union of Siberians is an act of courage toward our own memories, memories that have left the stamp of personal misfortune on every one of us. Remembering those years may arouse anxiety about guarantees that the future will be free from further injustices and misfortunes. Thus, this act of courage is one of bearing the burden of those experiences with the intention of assuming the duty of telling the truth about all those who were victims of repression, and especially those whose graves are scattered about the lands of our exile, the lands of our suffering and longing.

It requires great skill to talk openly about the wrongs that were committed so as not to repay one injustice with another one, but to free relations between Poland and Russia from the burden of wrong that weighs so heavily on them.

Thus, there is a danger that this undertaking will outgrow those who initiated it, that it will slip out of their control, and will drift off into two currents: a current that will feed on hatred and one that will allow itself to be manipulated through the concealment of the truth in order to secure political gains from lies told. We wish to build on the truth and to use the truth as a binding element, which is inspired by high ideals, in good-neighborly relations.

The name of the union did not appear out of the blue. The founders of the union took the name from the period between the two world wars, when there was an organization that existed and operated under this very name. In this context, Siberia is not a geographical entity, but a symbol for Tsarist repression and the repression to which Poland and the Poles were then subjected by Stalin and his heirs. That is why we call the prisons, the camps, the deportations all over the territory of the USSR and the suffering that this entailed for Poles "Siberia" and the victims of this "Siberia," Siberians.

The old union was registered in 1928 and existed until 1939: It was revived at the end of December 1988.

The union is an organization that brings together all Poles who were the victims of repression and—as envisaged by the statute—people, mainly of the younger

generation, who did not experience these injustices personally, but are deeply concerned and interested in the fate of the deportees, in their work as scholars and writers, and in their involvement in public life.

There are four main categories of Polish citizens who were affected by the repressions.

The first consists of soldiers taken prisoner by the Red Army following its entry into Poland on 17 September 1939. The murdered Polish officers, the prisoners of the camps at the Ostashkov, Starobelsk, and Kozelsk, some of whom were shot and buried in mass graves at Katyn, belong in this group.

The second category consists of members of the Polish population who were deported en masse from the eastern territories into the interior of the USSR as a result of the pact that the USSR concluded with Hitler's Germany in 1939.

The third consists of members of the Polish population—and, as we know, not only of the Polish population—who were deported from these territories at a later date and, beginning in the middle of 1944, members of Home Army units who were disarmed by the NKVD and many others who were deemed suspect, inconvenient, and or unruly.

Finally, the fourth category, which consists of a number of outstanding Poles who were deported and placed in camps and prisons. The most significant case involved the kidnapping and sentencing in Moscow of 16 leaders of the Polish underground who were lured out of hiding, enticed by promises of talks and the conclusion of an agreement.

It is estimated that between 1.5 and 1.8 million Poles were deported to the USSR.

How many of them returned? How many of them died on foreign soil through illness, emaciation, and torture? How many of them were killed through imprisonment, hard labor, perished in transport, or were shot? We do not know exactly how many. We have only estimates. How many of them survived and are still living in the USSR? How many of them live there of their own free will? How many of them live there against their will, simply because they could not acquire the documents needed to leave for Poland?

How many of them who live in Poland have come forward to our union? How many of them passed through Poland as they emigrated to the West, and how many of them passed Poland by, never to return?

The present statute of the Union of Siberians provides for activity all over the country, for the establishment of voivodship chapters wherever 15 members of the union come together, and the establishment of circles wherever five members come together.

Membership of the union is open to members of families of Siberians who were victims of the repressions and deportations, as well as those who died or were murdered in exile. Members of both groups can be represented in the union by spouses, siblings, children, and grandchildren. The statute allows them to participate in realizing the union's tasks and its goals as follows. I quote: The aim of the union is 1) to provide assistance to its members; 2) to provide care to invalids and the survivors of Siberians; 3) to preserve the memory of the fate of the exiled Poles.

What is the purpose of recalling the whole bitter truth about the fate of the Poles who were in the USSR? Is it hostility or friendship? The answer is simple, clear, and obvious. Hostility toward the desire to conquer, enslave, and repress. Friendship with respect to the common cause of putting an end to the oppressive, corrupt, partitioning concept of the USSR's treatment of Poland and the Poles, and not only the Poles.

We cannot allow ourselves to get involved in quarrels with the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Belorussians, the Lithuanians, and the other nationalities that make up the USSR, which is something that Stalin's heirs would like, in the belief that it would make it easier for them to return to power.

We cannot allow ourselves to develop political hatred out of personal reasons. The political purpose resides in the establishment of good-neighborly relations between people living on both sides of the border and not in the creation of a fake form of friendship, which is often what satisfies the institutions and apparatuses of power.

These distinctions are necessary in order to avoid provocations, and provocations are something to which those who wish to harm our union may resort. After all, it provides living testimony to the inhuman cruelty of the system and the ignominy of those who complied with it and inflicted suffering on others, others, not only in the sense that they were of another nationality, but also in that they belonged to a privileged stratum.

This bloody chain of persecution must be broken. It is not our job as a union to bring the guilty to justice, but it is our duty to bear witness to the truth. May this serve to accuse those who committed these crimes or played a part in them. The courts should track them down, because the threat to the future posed by them and people like them has disappeared.

It will not be possible to avoid the question of the politics of our new union. Of course, we could simply repeat that the union will not engage in politics and that it was not established for political purposes, and that it will not serve political goals.

However, politics is present everywhere, and we are told that everything is politics. Unfortunately, there are ideals and values to which politics devotes little attention. We

seek to make them constitute the substance of our activities and shape people's opinions of us, the opinions of the authorities and of everyone who is interested in our union. We intend to foster an identity of our own and develop social activity based on the tasks and goals set out in our statute. One thing is certain: We will not become an organization that will allow itself to be used for hostile purposes directed against the Soviet Union. We will protect the union from those who believe that this bond linking those who were victims of repression has arisen for the sake of revenge and the propagation of hatred.

The enemy of the Soviet state and the peoples living in it lies in Stalinism, the totalitarian system of repression, in the exercise of power and contempt for the law and human rights. That is why the union's one "policy" is to assist genuine de-Stalinization. This can only be accomplished by speaking the truth, a truth that is free of omissions, distortions, and manipulation, a courageous truth that extends to the roots of evil. We will definitely not shirk our responsibility in gathering material that documents the truth about persecution. This is not only a question of statistical data, which is being quite carefully supplemented, but also of human suffering that cannot be expressed in figures.

It was particularly despicable that, following their return to Poland, victims of Stalinism continued to be subjected to repression by the authorities of people's Poland. This was a native form of Stalinism. These victims, and they exist on both sides of the border, require our special care. Poles who returned from prisons and camps in neighboring countries provide evidence of the fact that Stalinism was not confined to the territory of the USSR. That is why we are on the side of forces that are struggling for the de-Stalinization of all aspects of life in Poland.

Our protests in 1956 were one expression of our civic and democratic aspirations. All the subsequent protests resulted from the authorities' failure to fulfill pledges of reform that the authorities made in the face of public anger. (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE no 20, item 99, amended 1983, and no 44, item 204).

What is the state of de-Stalinization like today? The last widespread protests, those of 1980-81 that produced Solidarity and were a consequence of the failure to fulfill the undertakings that were made following the bloody events of December 1970, resulted in the authorities being confronted by a society that was organizing itself on an unprecedented scale. The pressure for reform that would release the country from the straightjacket of Stalinism in public, economic, and political life met with resistance on the part of the apparatus. The monopoly on power is Stalinism's last redoubt and a relic of the system that it created. The alternative to this is pluralism, which means democracy in political life, self-management in public life, and the rejection of dogmas that block the path to efficiency in economic life. Social expectations assumed a causal force (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE no 20, item 99, amended 1983, and no 44, item 204) de-Stalinization is an ongoing task if we treat it in broader terms, and not just as the rejection of the cruel treatment of political opponents. This most spectacular form of police totalitarianism has also been condemned by the government camp. However, the government camp did not use the political methods that could have made reform genuine by allowing society to take part in deciding about Poland, although this was essential to create the stability that was needed to overcome the crisis.

In addition to the institutional remnants of Stalinism, there are also vestiges that reside in the people in power. This is not just a question of the so-called Stalinists who resented the fact that martial law was not as bloody as they would have liked it to have been and that young Poles were not deported—as those of the Home Army were—to Siberia or to camps by the Arctic Ocean so that they, the native Stalinists, could consolidate their power over the people. This dogmatic, bureaucratic strain is a marginal element and is a hangover that is completely out of touch with the present. It is a question of those who verbally disassociate themselves from the crimes that were committed and even from the Stalinist heritage, but have no intention of restoring principles of public life that are appropriate to the Polish democratic tradition.

Should these issues be taken into consideration in discussing "the union's politics"?

Our declaration of ideology, which I have tried to describe here, places a fundamental emphasis on the link between the repressions of which we ourselves or our relatives and friends were victims and the essence of Stalinism, which reaped an even bloodier harvest among the peoples that make up the Soviet state. That it was possible to have our union registered today is primarily due to the fact that the policy that Mikhail Gorbachev and his team are implementing in the USSR appears to be seeking to reassess the past.

We are a part of the restructuring that must take place in the minds of the younger generation living between the Elbe and Vladivostok. What will come of this will determine not only our future, but that of all the peoples living within the framework of the states that belong to the community of "Soviet socialism" and prospects for building one Europe.

We will not change our neighbors. Neighbors can be good or bad. A weak country suffers if it have has bad neighbors, therefore it does not lie in Poland's interest to antagonize our stronger neighbor. However, we will not violate the moral responsibility imposed on us by the limitless harm and suffering experienced by our countrymen whose graves are scattered between Smolensk and

Kamchatka. If necessary, we can forgive what we ourselves experienced, but do we have the right to release anyone from the responsibility to atone for death, torture and suffering which are crying out for revenge?

But what form can this atonement take? A memorial to the victims is meant to be erected in the USSR. Everywhere in the USSR there are voices demanding punishment for those who treated prisoners and deportees mercilessly.

The present Soviet leadership is trying to present the truth about atrocities committed against Soviet citizens. The leadership is announcing an exposure of the complete truth about atrocities committed against Poles, which is something that Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about in the Sejm during his 1988 visit. A Polish-Soviet commission of historians has been appointed, (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE no 20, item 99, amended 1983, and no 44, item 204).

Taking part in this process, the Union of Siberians' task is to provide documentary support for this revealing of the truth, and that is our duty, which should be performed by gathering reports, for nothing has such a healing effect as the truth about relations between peoples and nations.

Our task is also difficult, because we have a duty to look after the victims, who deserve not only moral but also material compensation. Right now we are limited to our own resources, because the Polish state is not providing any compensation for those who were not only robbed of their freedom, but who were also forced to work as slaves while dying of hunger and often for a considerably longer period of time than the whole war. The USSR did not go to war with Germany in 1939, but it did begin to deport Polish families to the east on the day its armies entered the second republic. Therefore, the Poles' Gehenna began at the very beginning of the war and continued after it. Siberians and their families, and the families of those who never came back, are living various kinds of lives, but they have not been left untouched by poverty. Even those who were born over there, whether in camps or simply in exile, are over 50 today. There are invalids and elderly people living in this general deprivation and suffering poverty. They have to be cared for. Where is the money supposed to come from? That is a question to which it will be necessary to find an answer.

The union's most urgent task is to see to it that those who were deported to the USSR receive all the serviceman's benefits to which they are entitled. The years they spent in the USSR must be taken into account in calculating their pensions, as is the case with the length of military service and time spent in concentration and prisoner of war camps. The deportation of civilians, the prisons and deportations, led to the creation of one huge prisoner of war camp for all Poles.

However, the most urgent matter is to care for invalids who lost their health or suffered disability during their stay in the USSR. The rights of Siberian invalids must be brought into line with the rights of war invalids.

We appeal to all relevant Sejm commissions and bodies of authority to undertake effective action in this direction.

Contacts with Siberians who are still in the USSR is a separate issue. They, too, did not choose to go there, but remained on the territory of their ancestors, territory that used to be part of the Polish Republic. Following their release, they either returned to this territory or settled wherever else they were allowed to settle in the USSR. Time went by, and they accepted the fate imposed on them by those times, times in which Poles were scattered like dust all over the East and West.

Information has filtered through to us about the struggle of Poles in the USSR for the right to emigrate, to invite relatives from Poland, attend Polish schools, read Polish books, practice their religion, and speak their language.

Progress has been achieved in this sphere recently. Several churches have been built, a few Polish-language schools have been opened, and tourist traffic has commenced in both directions. The visits to the USSR by Cardinal Glemp and Bishop Dabrowski herald changes for the better.

We in Poland must continue to help Poles in the USSR preserve their Polishness and their faith. Prayer books, school textbooks, and other books are being collected and sent there. The Union of Siberians should help coordinate this work and improve its efficiency. Therefore, it is the task of our Union, whose goals reach to the future, and which believes in a new era for the formerly difficult relations between Poland and the USSR, to help the estimated 2 million Poles living in the USSR and make them part of the future.

We are a community of unhappy people, people with memories. But we are still alive, and we have returned. Nevertheless, we remember those who did not return, those who died. We remember their suffering.

We remember those with whom we shared a corner of the railroad carriage during the journey east that took several weeks, or with whom we shared a bunk in a crowded hut. We remember those with whom we worked in the forests or the mines in hunger, cold, and misery.

(——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE no 20, item 99, amended 1983, and no 44, item 204).

However, what are we to do with this tradition, which has been suppressed, erased from memory, and silenced over the past 45 years? What are we to do about the survivors who are still in the USSR, and the living families of those who did not survive?

We certainly cannot betray this tradition, for it is a valuable asset that must be deposited in the pantheon of Polish fate, so that those cruel times may never be repeated. That is the sense of our martyrdom. We did not choose this martyrdom in order to win glory. It was imposed on us. On the other hand, we accepted it because we refused to capitulate and betray the ideals that provided the only chance to rescue the Polish cause.

We do not wish to poison our souls with memories of the harm done to us and weave a web of tragedy around the future. We do not want to be warriors of vengeance; we do not want vengeance to be the only thing that binds us. But our experience furnishes us with a warning, and this warning indicates a path of self-defense.

So what is the union's task? Its task is to be faithful to the values that we gained during the test of character that we underwent. This faith makes sure that these values will serve man, always and everywhere. A modern faith in ideals means a preservation of dignity in all circumstances; human, Christian, and Polish dignity; the dignity not to suffer, but to create. Fundamental values will remain unchanged. Today our union claims the right to shape Polish patriotism in such a way that exposure of the truth does not direct the thoughts and feelings of young people toward an impassable wasteland of martyrdom.

No one will stir us into activity, not even the best propaganda. However, it is more important that no one considers us to be the kind of people who want nothing but compassion and sympathy for themselves and for their experience. We should all concentrate on everything that remains to be done, in order to prevent the evil of the past from recurring, and prevent anyone from ever again being forced to perform slavish work and perish slowly in inhuman territory. We also know that after Stalin, Khrushchev, who started the process of de-Stalinization, deported tens of thousands of Hungarians to the East. Let us not forget that there are still people who think it is better to eliminate in any way whatsoever a country's best citizens if they harbor thoughts that are not compatible with the power monopoly, which always poses the danger of a return of Stalinist methods.

Siberians! Do you want to have your own union? Do you have the courage to have your own union? If so, then organize yourselves into circles and voivodship chapters. But remember the objectives contained in the statute. They have to be given concrete substance. This substance should begin with social contacts, and then progress toward the gathering of documents, reports, and relics, and culminate in direct aid for people who require support, as well as indirect aid by encouraging decisions from the relative authorities. This calls for initiative in finding a place for the union in the state's supervisory structures, covering by right all those who have been persecuted in the past and who need help.

The fate of Siberians who remained in the USSR and of those who returned to Poland has been varied. Many of those who returned to Poland ended up in prison again. In Siberia, everyone was equal, but afterwards their fate was different. However, the chart of their joint fate has remained, and this is now the union's identity document. The union has no fixed stance on the matters in which it is involved. All it does is see to it that its members are responsible for their actions when they act in the union's name.

Together we must guard Polish honor and Polish dignity. We did that when we were in exile, and we should do so today.

Commission on Stalinist Repression Confers

LD2203202889 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The commission for commemorating the victims of the repression of the Stalinist period held a meeting yesterday to discuss the key topics and methods of work aimed at morally compensating all those who were wronged in different ways in that period.

The commission is attached to the Council of Protecting the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom. During the meeting the commission agreed that commemorating people and milieus which have been actually and formally rehabilitated already was its most urgent task. The commission decided to actively join in the undertakings to be pursued in April, the national remembrance month. It set up three working groups. Zenon Komender presided over the debates.

Party Daily Carries General Maczek Biography

AU2203151789

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 20 March carries on page 5 an approximately 2,500-word article by Stanislaw Reperowicz entitled "General Maczek—Commander of Armored Forces" describing the life of General Stanislaw Maczek, commander of the Polish First Armored Division during World War II. This military unit was formed by Maczek in Scotland in 1942 and took part in operations on the western front. Following the end of World War II, Maczek chose to remain abroad in view of the political developments that were taking place in Poland. The author notes that "this brilliant soldier" was "stripped of his Polish citizenship in 1946 by the authorities of People's Poland" and that "the unjust decision was repealed in 1971." He mentions the letter sent to General Maczek by Premier Rakowski inviting him to Poland to attend ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and the interview granted by General Maczek to PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY. The author ends by saying that General Maczek is "a well-known and respected figure in our country. His name will occupy a permanent place in Polish military history."

Ceausescu Makes Working Visit to Hunedoara

AU2103210889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/3/1989—On Tuesday, March 21, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Hunedoara County.

Present at the stadium in Deva Municipality, where the arrival ceremony took place, were thousands upon thousands of miners, steel, power and construction workers, cooperative farmers and other working people in that town and in nearby settlements. On behalf of the county's residents, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were warmly welcomed by the first secretary of the Hunedoara County Committee of the RCP, Ion Popa.

Accompanying the RCP general secretary on his visit are Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Silviu Curticeanu.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu got in an open car heading for the power plant enterprise in Deva, a representative power-engineering unit, the first in a series of large units to have been built in the County of Hunedoara throughout the period ushered in by the Ninth RCP Congress (held in 1965). The hosts pointed out that the enterprise had fulfilled the main plan indicators for January and February. Furthermore, they informed of the measures taken to exemplarily fulfil the tasks for 1989 as a whole, of the possibilities of more markedly augmenting the coal-generated power production. Special attention is paid to boosting the outfit-employment index, to reducing fuel and technological consumption. The fact was underscored that by applying measures aimed at improving the organization of production processes and updating them, power availabilities on generators sets would increase substantially.

Expressing his appreciation for the results obtained, as well as for the concerns shared by the respective collectivity, the RCP and Romanian state leader requested that technologies be applied to provide for a superior capitalization of solid fuels in this country, that action should be taken, together with machine-building units, for the implementation of the programme worked out in that area the soonest possible. The party general secretary also requested that the fine experience acquired by that thermoelectric station be generalized to all the other similar units in the country.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's working visit to Hunedoara County continues.

Addresses Steel Workers

AU2103212189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2055 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/3/89—At the end of their visit to the production hall of the steel combine in Hunedoara, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met members of that large combine's working People's Council.

In their addresses, the chairman, the first deputy chairman and other members of the working People's Council outlined the concerns shared by workers and experts at the combine for the fulfilment of plan tasks, the assimilation into production of a large number of steel brands intended for key branches of the national economy, and the application of new, modern and highly efficient technologies. Furthermore, emphasis was placed, in a self-critical spirit, on the shortfalls that, of late, had prevented a number of basic units from fulfilling all their production plan indicators.

Addressing the members of the working People's Council and the party and state cadres in the attendance, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed Hunedoara to be one of the most important steel combines in the country, with a major role in supplying quality steel to various sectors of the national economy. Pointing out that, in broad lines, the results were fine, the party general secretary said that, unfortunately, in recent years the combine had failed to fulfil a number of basic plan indicators, although fixed assets had increased with every passing five-year plan period.

Criticizing a number of shortfalls in the organization of production activities, in running production processes and in carrying through programmes aimed at updating production units, President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that undelayed action be taken to remove existing deficiencies.

The use of machines and installations at capacity, the party general secretary said, is a task of utmost importance.

Special attention was paid to the fulfilment of measures aimed at updating the steel-production outfit, as well as production. It was recommended that the existing programme should be reviewed, so that through its provisions it may help a rapid modernization of the combine's units and the replacement of outmoded technologies with modern ones.

The participants in the meeting assured President Nicolae Ceausescu of the determination of all the working people at that large combine to work unswervingly to fulfil tasks to the letter and, to take the activity of the steel combine in Hunedoara to the required level of quality and efficiency.

At the end of the meeting with members of the working People's Council, a large number of iron-and-steel workers waited for the party general secretary. Addressing them—and through them all workers and specialists of the combine—President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his belief that the entire collectivity of the combine would work with all forces, do their utmost to produce more and more high quality steel, to ensure the modernization of installations, machines and equipment on the basis of the latest gains of science and technology.

Meets Hunedoara Bureau Members

AU2203092689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 22 Mar 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Meets With the Members of the Bureau of the Hunedoara County RCP Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/03/1989—The RCP General Secretary, President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met on Tuesday afternoon with the members of the Bureau of the Hunedoara County RCP Committee.

The meeting was an opportunity to continue the analysis started at large industrial units and to set the necessary measures for Hunedoara County to best fulfil the important tasks incumbent on it under the plan and programmes for the country's economic and social development for 1989 and the whole 5-year period.

The first secretary of the county party committee and the other members of the Bureau presented in their addresses the activity carry through by the Communists, by all the working people of the county to fulfil plan provisions, the results scored in industry, agriculture, investment and other sectors. They also presented the shortfalls that led to the unfulfilment of the plan, with stress on the steps taken for an undelayed liquidation of shortcomings.

Setting from the situation presented and from those noted during the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that although the results scored were good in general they were below the possibilities of Hunedoara County.

The party general secretary asked that all conclusions be drawn from the work done, from the shortcomings manifested, more particularly in the mining and metal sectors, and that firm measures be taken to liquidate the negative states of affairs, radically improve the entire activity in the shortest possible time.

The problem of Hunedoara County, President Nicolae Ceausescu said, is that with the substantial fixed capital it has it should double its marketable production. In this respect it was recommended that most responsible action be taken to rhythmically manufacture the planned production and increase the coal, electricity and metal productions through the application of modern technology, to fulfil the export plan ensuring the timely delivery of the entire commodity stock at the quality level stipulated in the contracts with foreign partners.

President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the programmes for the organization and modernization of production processes should set from the major economic and financial indicators, from the criteria of economic efficiency and profitability, the utilization of all fixed assets and invested means.

Referring to aspects of the activity carried on in agriculture, the party general secretary asked that firm measures be taken to substantially increase cereal production, livestock, especially cattle and sheep, make best use of the good conditions in the county.

At the same time, stress was laid on the significance of fulfilling the plans for the general development of villages in keeping with the organization and modernization programmes, ever better living and working conditions being ensured for their inhabitants.

It was stressed that the organizational, political and ideological activity should be intensified, the style and methods of work of the country committee, of the party bodies and organizations should be improved so that they cover all sectors, fulfil the important role they have in managing the entire socioeconomic activity.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that Hunedoara County boasted a powerful technical and material base, high-skill workers, experienced experts, everything it needed to score better results in all areas.

On behalf of the county party organization, the first secretary of the country party committee assured President Nicolae Ceausescu that all those living and working in Hunedoara County would do their utmost to best fulfil plan provisions, to enhance their contribution to the growth of the national economy.

Visits Mining Units

AU2203093489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0921 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 22/3/1989—Continuing his visit to Hunedoara County, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited mining units in the coal basin of Jiu Valey in the morning of 22 March.

The Romanian head of state was the guest of the collectivities of miners at the mining enterprise Lupeni and met with the members of the working people's council at that important mining unit.

LCY Presidium Addresses Political Situation

LD2203114989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium calls on all members of the LCY and all LC leaderships to immediately organize resolute ideopolitical action and to struggle against all negative tendencies and attempts at dividing our nations into democratic and undemocratic, deserving and less deserving, progressive and conservative, and so on, as well as against insults to whole nations and nationalities, individual socialist republics and their leaderships, and the division of Yugoslavia.

The session issued the following statement:

At a session held on 21 March, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed certain unprincipled stances and confrontations in the LCY after the 21st LCY Central Committee session. A discussion was held on the basis of a previously adopted conclusion of the 20th LCY Central Committee session, stating that it is essential to assess all the phenomena of unprincipled stances, confrontations, and divisions in the LCY in connection with various current social processes and issues in evidence in the public sphere and in the activities and relations within the LCY.

On the basis of the discussion, the Presidium concluded that the platform for the principled assessment of social processes and tendencies in socioeconomic relations, in political life as a whole, and in the relations, behavior, and activities of the LCY, must be the stances of the LCY conference and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee. It also asserted that these must be the point of departure in the daily struggle of members, organizations, and leaderships for consistent moves for reform and changes in the economic and political system; in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo; against every form of nationalism and chauvinism; for the mass democratic activity of people in the SAWP; against statism and bureaucratism; against pressures and blackmail; and for the efficient, democratic, and responsible functioning of all institutions of the system, the state, delegate, and self-managing organs.

For this reason, the Presidium once again energetically demands an end to all forms of unprincipled confrontation and damaging divisions among the leaderships and members of the LCY organs. The Presidium calls on all members of the LCY and LC leaderships to immediately organize resolute ideopolitical action and to struggle against all negative tendencies and attempts at dividing our nations into democratic and undemocratic, deserving and less deserving, progressive and conservative and so on, as well as against insults to whole nations and nationalities, individual socialist republics and their leaderships, and the division of Yugoslavia. All these phenomena represent a blow to the foundations of the SFRY, to the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, and to the implementation of the established directions of social reform. The Presidium calls on basic LC organizations and LC leaderships to undertake suitable ideopolitical measures against those LC members who tolerate these phenomena or who participate directly in them, says the statement from the LCY Central Committee [Presidium] session.

Presidency Views Kosovo, Meetings, Stability

AU2203185789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has discussed the implementation of the emergency measures in Kosovo and some other problems of the political-security situation in the country.

The SFRY Presidency insists on a further strict implementation of special measures in Kosovo, including the work obligation introduced in a number of work collectives in the province.

The Presidency reiterates its opinion that convening mass protest gatherings in the territory of other republics and provinces, without the permission of appropriate organs and despite the opposite views of the political leaderships in the republics and provinces—which under the Constitution bear primary responsibility for the political-security situation in their community—has serious consequences for political stability, interethnic relations, and security.

The SFRY Presidency points out that it is impermissible to undertake anything that could destabilize the political security situation in any part of the country and have a negative influence on interethnic relations. It has ordered the organs authorized by the law to prevent such attempts.

The SFRY Presidency stresses that consistent respect for the constitutionality and the rule of law implies that anyone who does not respect the law is treated in the same way throughout the country.

Legality of Democratic Alliances Discussed

LD2203133289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The conclusions that the newly arisen democratic alliances in Slovenia are illegal and unconstitutional, which were adopted by the top state representatives and organs, have no legal basis. Whether the democratic alliances are constitutional and legal or not can only be assessed by the constitutional court of the SR of Slovenia, is the conclusion of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, states an item appearing today in DELO.

In Slovenia we are developing political pluralism with democratic political organizations, and in other environments they are developing "the democracy of meetings." Just as Slovenes are not seeking a ban on public gatherings, so they will not allow their own social development to be banned, states the Presidium of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance. In this connection, it cites the figures from a poll of Slovene public opinion in which 71 percent of those polled were in favor of founding new political organizations and only 6.3 percent were opposed. It is added that the SFRY Constitution does not limit people's right to freedom of association. The right to freedom of association is also guaranteed to the citizens of the SFRY by the international charters and acts which have been signed and ratified and so have become an integral part of our legislation.

The Presidium of the Social Democratic Alliance states that this is also the opinion of the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Slovene Assembly; a similar statement was made by the Slovene public prosecutor in March this year.

In order to avoid future misunderstandings, the Presidium of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance calls on the Slovene Assembly to "reject the stance of the SFRY Presidency and to protect the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, and to throw out the 'basic principles' chapter from the republican Constitution, because these have caused the problematic interpretations of the Constitution to date," The alliance also calls for a similar change to the federal Constitution. There is also a proposal for the Slovene Assembly to hold a referendum in which the citizens of Slovenia can decide on whether they favor "a political direction which will ensure Slovene sovereignty and the realization of parliamentary democracy."

Joze Smole Comments on Political Pluralism

LD1803044289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 17 Mar 89

["Yugoslavia—Political Pluralism Within Constitutional Limits"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, March 17 (TANJUG)—Political and other forms of pluralism which observe the Constitution and socialist self-management and act within Yugoslavia's largest political organization, the Socialist Alliance, must have every opportunity to express themselves and contribute to a settlement of the economic and political crisis, leader of the Socialist Alliance organization of the Republic of Slovenia Joze Smole said on Friday.

Political organizations which would assail the essence of the socialist system and advocate its disruption cannot be founded, Smole told a session of the Republic of Slovenia Council.

A number of political organizations, for the most part of a democratic and social-democratic orientation, sprang up this year in Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia and are active within their Socialist Alliance organizations. Some of them, such as the Social-Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, admitted they have accepted Socialist Alliance membership only to obtain the foundation permit from the authorities.

State and party forums have criticized the founding of these organizations, considering it to be an attempt to introduce a multiparty system in a roundabout way. Early this month, the Yugoslav Presidency issued a statement saying that the founding of political parties is incompatible with the country's constitutional system and that it will insist on responsible state organs acting under the Constitution and laws in relation to such manifestations.

Speakers in the debate pointed out that support of political pluralism is not support of a multiparty system as this implies submission of the individual to party discipline and obedience to the leader.

USSR Claims Defamation at SFRY Conference

PM2103140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Yugoslav Writer Branko Kitanovic under the rubric "Letters from Abroad": "Leaving a Cuckoo's Egg"]

[Text] Belgrade—A characteristic feature of our social life is the unusually extensive interest in the restructuring of the Soviet Union. Reports on this theme in the press and on television generate a great response. Visiting scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia from the USSR also attract a considerable audience. The vast majority of them provide a real picture of what is going on in the Soviet Union, neither detracting from the achievements nor hiding the difficulties. But sometimes it is different.

A group of Soviet scientists and publicists visited Belgrade recently to take part in a "Soviet restructuring days" meeting and in public roundtable events. They included Yuriy Afanasyev, Gennadiy Lisichkin, Len Karpinskiy, and Lev Nikiforov. The latter apparently works at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. I want to say in no uncertain terms that under the slogan of support for restructuring in the Soviet Union, they made a number of strange statements which, to put it mildly, defamed the Soviet system. The common feature of all their comments was that the USSR is a totalitarian society in which there is not and has never been socialism.

Their attitude toward the Soviet land's 70-year history and the Soviet people's achievements, particularly after the new economic policy period, was more than nihilistic. For example, Nikiforov repeated the claims of the U.S. Sovietologists Brzezinski and Kissinger about the

"general historical crisis of socialism." Karpinskiy campaigned for the multiparty system and criticized Gorbachev for "inconsistency" and for supporting a pluralism of opinions only within a socialist framework, which, he said, is contrary to "true democracy." He assured his Yugoslav audience that V.I. Lenin was wrong when he expected the Great October Socialist Revolution to develop into a worldwide socialist revolution. Afanasyev solemnly stated that exploitation exists in the USSR, particularly in the countryside, and that in "such a totalitarian society as the Soviet one," real art (including literature, music, and the cinema) cannot really develop. Lisichkin fervently contrasted the "economic boom" of the four little "Asian tigers" with the experience and achievements of socialism, and denied the justification for the existence of the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system and the planned economy.

I have no room for a more detailed list and analysis of all their gems and gibberish, which are as credible as the visions of St Anthony. I have translated some of the works of M.S. Gorbachev into Serbo-Croatian, including the book "Restructuring and the new Thinking for Our Country and for the Whole World," in which he gives a concise, clear, and convincing account of the 70-year experience of building socialism in the USSR and the current restructuring of Soviet society. And for that reason, I can boldly affirm that the views of the participants in the events which I have mentioned contradict the views contained in the book and the essence of restructuring.

I shall recall here just 10 of what I think are the best known truths.

—The USSR's 70-year path (taking into account the various serious deformations) was correct on the whole and based on the theory of scientific socialism, and not on bare schemes and voluntarism.
—A critical consideration of the past is not the same as a negative attitude toward the international achievements of the Soviet people. M.S. Gorbachev rightly said that restructuring is being built not from scratch, but on what has already been created.
—The USSR is the first country to have resolved the unemployment problem, something which not a single capitalist state has yet managed to do. Citizens' social provision is an inseparable characteristic of socialism.
—The Soviet land was the first country in the world to carry out a comprehensive cultural revolution and has resolved the question of free medical provision and schooling.
—At the present stage of its development, the Soviet state has comprehensively ensured the population's basic living conditions. (For the sake of the truth let me say that there is still quite a lot to be done here, both quantitatively and qualitatively).
—The Soviet land has reached great heights in science and technology (the conquest of space, nuclear power, electrical power, medicine, the military industry, and so forth).
—If the Soviet land had not achieved those things, as the aforementioned roundtable participants claimed, how would fascism have been defeated? And would the highly developed Western countries really be talking with the Soviet Union on equal terms now? It is naive to believe that the capitalists would have agreed from "humanitarian" or "philosophical" considerations to hold talks on peace and the easing of the international situation.
—It is well known that every democracy has its own class content. It is understood that in the restructuring now being carried out by the Soviet people, it is necessary to develop not an abstract democracy, but a socialist democracy. A pluralism of interests and opinions in a socialist society must be based on the fundamental interests of the working class and not on attempts to distort those interests by various bourgeois stunts.
—It is not true that after the Great October Revolution, the socialist revolution did not continue in the world. It triumphed in a whole series of European countries and in states in Asia and America.
—It doesn't take great intelligence to dispute historian Afanasyev's superficial view of Soviet art, which is a far more complex phenomenon than it appears from his standpoint. In the period which he criticized in particular, Gorky, Sholokhov, Aleksey Tolstoy, Mayakovskiy, Leonov, Bulgakov, Prokofyev, Shostakovich, Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Galina Ulanova were working in the USSR....

In conclusion, I would like to say one thing. As I see it, Afanasyev, Lisichkin, Karpinskiy, and Nikiforov, viewed in light of the struggle for restructuring, have actually fought against it by trying to substitute their own fabrications for its essence.

*Proposal To Name Serb President of Republic

28000085 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 89 p 13

[Article by Milutin Milenkovic: "Proposal To Restore Office of President of the Republic"]

[Excerpts] The Federal Social Council for International Relations, with the inevitable dose of realism and understanding concern, recently considered Yugoslavia's position and priority areas of operation under present worldwide circumstances. [passage omitted]

A proposal from Mihajlo Javorski, a veteran diplomat, attracted particular attention at the council's last session. For decades extremely active in the front ranks of Yugoslav foreign-policy theory and practice, and continuing to be active, Javorski directly proposed returning the office of president of the republic to the Yugoslav constitutional system with a 4-year term.

Comrade Javorski's proposal was not examined in detail at the session. The proposal may have been met with silence, among other reasons, because Javorski stressed that the new head of state under present-day conditions should most advisably come from the Socialist Republic

of Serbia, inasmuch as President Tito had been from Croatia. The esteemed proposer seems thereby to have crossed the threshold of specificity on which many fine initiatives have foundered by virtue of having this single "flaw": Such initiatives, submitted on behalf of the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole, ran up against one or more untouchable top positions in the realm of of republic-level sovereignty. Javorski's suggestion carried an additional risk of foundering on that same threshold: At a time when maps of the "Associated States of Western Yugoslavia" are being published in large numbers and circulated without anyone being punished, a Yugoslav from the western part of the country has publicly proposed at an official session of a federal council that the Constitution provide for the office of president of the republic, with the first holder to be elected from Serbia.

Javorski's proposal, even if it fails to restore credibility and durability to the supreme administrative office in Yugoslavia, restores faith in Yugoslavia and in Yugoslavia's political intellect and courage.

[Juxtaposed with the above article, on page 14, are a photograph of Serbian LC President Slobodan Milosevic and a review of a book of his speeches.]

Kosovo Executive Council Supports Amendments
AU2303110389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 89 p 3

[R.B. report: "Consent on Amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly (with Dr Jovan Bogicevic as chairman) proposed that the Kosovo Assembly endorse amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia which are in the interest of the republic as a whole.

The proposed constitutional amendments, it was stated, will enable the SR of Serbia, as a state and self-managing community, to perform the necessary duties throughout its entire territory. They will also facilitate the consistent realization of the essence of the autonomy of the provinces which are a part of the republic and constitutive elements of the federation. The changes will help the total efforts to speed up socioeconomic development and the general development of society, to carry out economic reforms, and to eliminate the causes of the grave economic situation.

The constitutional amendments will eliminate the lack of precision and the problems which hinder a fuller and more consistent realization of brotherhood and togetherness in the SR of Serbia.

According to the Executive Council, the proposed changes will facilitate a faster stabilization of the political and total situation in Kosovo. Changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia will ensure the realization of the national equality of all peoples and nationalities, as well as their material, cultural, and general development on a socialist self-managing basis.

Kosovo Presidium Issues Communique on Measures
LD2303083889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2151 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium warned this evening that resistance to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] policy and to the measures of state organs are still present in this province. In the communique from the session, the Presidium stresses that this resistance is manifested in various ways, mainly through work stoppages in work collectives and the suspension of lessons in schools. In some milieux, the resistance is increasingly under the influence of hostile forces which are trying, at all costs, to persevere in the realization of their goals. Such activity, continues the communique, is also encouraged by the weakness in the work of the LC, above all, as well as other sociopolitical organizations, as reflected in their indecision and opportunism regarding the implementation of established conclusions, stands, and tasks, and in the failure of other subjects and competent organs to carry out their duties.

The LC PC Presidium notes, however, that evident results have been achieved concerning the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, above all through the activity of subjective forces and with considerable help from the LCY and the state, as well as other factors throughout the country. These results, the communique stressed, are particularly reflected in people beginning to face facts and eliminate certain misconceptions, to which the public information media, especially in Kosovo, are making a considerable contribution.

Since the introduction of the SFRY'S special measures, the Presidium has stepped up ideopolitical activity at all levels of the LC organization and activity, above all in the coordination of action among LC organs and organizations. The Presidium has mobilized all subjects to steer the ideological front toward a correct interpretation of the necessity to introduce the special measures and to have an active attitude toward the eradication of the ideological causes for their introduction.

Members of the political province's aktiv, together with members of the Serbian LC Central Committee political aktiv and members of the LCY Central Committee, have actively participated in sessions of the LC municipal committees, action conferences, committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection, and other sociopolitical and self-managing organizations. The main platform for political activity was the following documents: The LC PC action program, the conclusions from the 28 February session of the LC PC Presidium, the assessments and stands on the November gatherings and demonstrations of Albanian citizens, and the stands on

the political and security situation in the province following the mass protest meetings and strikes of miners and workers in February this year.

The Presidium also examined the program of the ideo-Marxist education of the LC members in the LC basic organizations, a report on the work of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection concerning the implementation of the special measures, and some aspects of the political and security situation among our citizens of the Albanian nationality temporarily living and working abroad.

Kosovo Forums Support Constitutional Changes
LD1803055789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2145 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 17 (TANJUG)—A good news arrived today from Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province, the scene of last month's strikes and demonstrations by ethnic Albanians which is still faced with Albanian miners' rejection to resume work. Some provincial forums have upheld the proposed constitutional changes in the Republic of Serbia, whose part Kosovo is.

The changes, aimed at ensuring the republic's jurisdiction over its entire territory—including the two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina—were supported by the responsible committee of the Kosovo Assembly and the Kosovo trade union leadership. The amendments should be endorsed by the three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly on March 23.

The Kosovo trade union leadership said in the provincial assembly today that the proposed changes in the Serbian Constitution are necessary and that they will in no way limit the provinces' autonomy.

The essence of the proposed changes in the Serbian Constitution has often been deliberately misinterpreted, and it is therefore important to stress that they will not deny anybody's rights and freedoms, said Kosovo trade union leader Savo Komadinic.

Claiming that Kosovo will lose autonomy when the changes are endorsed, Albanian separatists and chauvinists managed to stage last month's strikes and demonstrations by ethnic Albanians which culminated in an eight-day underground strike by Albanian miners in the Stari Trg lead and zinc mine.

This was followed by the Yugoslav state Presidency imposing special measures in Kosovo. At the same time, compulsory work orders were issued in Kosovo mines.

The miners have not yet returned to the Stari Trg pits as preparations are still underway to ensure the safest possible work conditions there. Other mines worked at reduced capacity because Albanian miners refused to go underground. Today again Albanian miners came to take their meals at mine restaurants and later went home.

The Albanian miners' refusal to resume work and yesterday's silent protest by Albanian students indicate that Albanian chauvinists and separatists continue to work in an unhindered and organized way with the aim of again blacking the political life in Kosovo, Serbian assembly official Dragan Nikolic, who just returned from the province, said.

Reporting on the situation in Kosovo, Serbian Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic said there is no disorder and oppression, but that life there is paralyzed.

The Kosovo Assembly commission supervising the implementation of the Yugoslav programme on Kosovo today revealed some disturbing facts showing that the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins has not stopped and that Albanian chauvinists and separatists are increasingly threatening the safety of the person and property of members of the two nations which make up a minority in the province.

From January to November last year, there were 192 criminal offences in Kosovo, of which even 165 against Serbs and Montenegrins. A total of 2,532 Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo last year. Over 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins migrated from the province since the counter-revolutionary demonstrations by Albanian separatists and chauvinists in 1981.

Macedonia LC Presidium Addresses Pluralism
LD1703234489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee Presidium discussed the basic guidelines for transforming the LC and a number of topical issues in connection with political pluralism at today's expanded session, which was chaired by President Jakov Lazaroski. [passage omitted]

In a discussion on political pluralism, the Presidium stressed that the matter should be examined within the framework of reforming the political system and transforming the LC.

Political pluralism should not be understood to be nor take the form of a multiparty system. Political pluralism should manifest itself in a system of various programs and associations with a socialist and self-managing policy, over and above the transmitting role [phrase as received] of the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth Federation, and other forms of socialist association, and over and above their independent organizing activity. In this sense, the political system will represent a component part of the development of socialist and self-managing democracy.

Meetings Queried at Bosnia-Hercegovina Session

AU1703184489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 89 p 7

[Unattributed report on speech by Muhamed Abadzic at the 26th session of the Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists held on 28th February, place not given: "Against Meetings and Strikes"]

[Excerpts] Expressing thanks for the confidence expressed and his election as member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], Muhamed Abadzic began his speech with the news that the Soko aviation plant in Mostar and Adria Airways in Ljubljana had signed a long-term agreement in Sarajevo on joint business cooperation. "Unfortunately," he said, "the results of this will be diminished because of mass cancellations by tourists from the West because of the situation in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

"There is no economic reform without reform of the political system, and there is neither of these without reform of the League of Communists [LC]. There is no sequence for the reforms nor can there be any, but the only thing to be considered is a simultaneous and effective reform of the whole system. In this sense, just as I am bothered by the neologism of the three reforms, I also have certain reservations about the so-called "new socialism." This is because if we are united in basing a Yugoslavia on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and Tito's Yugoslavia (and it should be sorted out once and for all what is implied by this, because we swear allegiance to it from every possible position), then this does not involve some totally new socialism, but thoroughly changed and contemporary world processes adapted to socialist self-managing relations based on market relations and the pluralism of interests.

"So that I am not misunderstood, I only wanted to try to modestly contribute to what seems to me at this moment the only realistic acceptable program for the way out of the crisis, presented in a general outline in statements by Comrade Ante Markovic. I do not know how Comrade Markovic, whose program I enthusiastically support, regards the latest events. I am only sure that meetings of support for the program that he is offering will not contribute fully to its implementation, because this program requires workers at their machines and not in front of the Assembly. It requires workers at the head of the pit with pickaxes and spades, and not exhausted workers on the levels of the mines. I have always been against meetings and strikes and against all extremes outside and against a system, if there are solutions in that system. Legal institutions which support this form of activity are only admitting their impotence and therefore demonstrating that they are not up to their task, and that they should be changed, but legally. At the risk of finding my name tomorrow on the banners of one "spontaneous" meeting or another, I have to say that I am against a meeting in Slovenia, as well as those in Vojvodina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, or anywhere. I am against any gathering that destroys and gives lectures, raps on knuckles, judges, hangs, and kills.

Real and Duped People

"However, these meetings or gatherings cannot be judged by different standards, to use a modern phrase. In some places the people are right in changing their leadership at a meeting, but in some places the people are not, because they are duped. In some places it is all right that the participants at meetings are provided with food and hot drinks and the expenses borne by each basic organization of associated labor, but elsewhere, food for the participants and support for their demands is seen as help to the counterrevolution. I cannot believe in the spontaneity of meetings which are proclaimed in advance as magnificent, and about which it is known in advance what they support, this even being announced in the media. I cannot believe in the spontaneity of meetings if I see the same faces, the same writing, and the same slogans in different places at a number of meetings. I cannot believe in the objectivity of some demands which ignore the hierarchy of responsibility in calling for accountability to be established. Only federal party officials are to blame for the latest resignations by Kosovo officials and even those who were not in Kosovo on that occasion. Not one person is to blame from the Serbian leadership, even though their obligations and duties were precisely established. Nobody should encroach on my territory, and I can export my own revolution even if another community does not want it. This logic must above all be energetically eliminated in those communities from which their actors originate.

"I support the stands on solving the Kosovo problem which were presented in the introductory speech, as well as those which were adopted by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency. There must be more objectivity in implementing these stands and less changing and correcting of adopted stands according to the occasion and the community. All communities must stop quarreling over borders, giving lectures, and criticizing what is on the other side of the fence while glorifying one's own situation. We in Bosnia-Hercegovina must be particularly sensitive to the latest events. The orientation of this Central Committee against single-nationality gatherings has been shown to be fully justified. We are witnessing the consequences of these in less complex national communities, but what consequences could these gatherings have in our own community?

"'Look after my sun,' was Tito's final message one sunny November day in 1979 when he left Bosnia-Hercegovina soil for the last time, when he had a visionary foreboding that it could darken. Let us not allow it to darken, because we promised him at his graveside that we would further preserve and develop his work."

DELO Comments on Bosnian 'Nonalignment'

AU1903175789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
14 Mar 89 p 3

[Vojko Flegar article: "Why Bosnia-Hercegovina Insists on 'Nonalignment'"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Mar—A veritable avalanche of suspicions, accusations, fabrications, and lectures appeared in readers' letters (in OSLOBODJENJE and POLITIKA) on the two "culprits" at the latest session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina from Kljuc, Mrkonjic Grad, Titov Drvar, and Skender Vakuf, as well as from Zenica, Tuzla, and Sarajevo last week. Fuad Muhic and Muhamed Abadzic have thus indirectly discovered where the so-called (possible) nerve endings lie on the political map of our central republic.

If it "crashes" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, official warnings in the republics say, this will mean a drama for Yugoslavia in the literal sense of the word, against which even the Kosovo drama will pale in insignificance. The socially and economically broken, morally discredited (unjustly), nationally disturbed, and "functionally" lame republic expects this spring—according to Miroslav Solevic—its moment of "truth" and an importation of an "antibureaucratic revolution," resulting from fear and in an almost spasmodic attempt to retain its equilibrium. This is no "value" judgment colored in one way or another, but a simple journalistic conclusion based on a spectrum of various facts that frequently seem contradictory.

The economic and social picture of the republic is just as analysts predicted as the only possible one: It is critical. It will only get worse in the coming weeks: The decision by the republican government and assembly to immediately pay all the Agrokomerc debt will completely exhaust the economy and the people. It is probably true that any further "rescheduling" would only increase the burden, but the 400 billion dinars that are necessary will suck out the last "sound" money, without anybody being able to assure people that the bottom line will thus have been truly drawn.

On the other hand, the latest mine and rail strikes have exposed the increasing difficulties in "printing" false money to buy social peace. After the "political structures" at the communal and republican level had repeatedly forced the banks and the enterprises to meet the strikers' demands, the directors are now sending the bills for such moves by return mail. The billions paid to miners in Kakanj, Zenica, and elsewhere have no cover yet, while the advance payments to Zenica steelworkers (on the basis of promises "that they will increase production") have been piling up for much longer. The mining and metallurgical combine is therefore several tens of billions in the red (and the assertions by Bosnian economists about the unsettled situation in the steel industry as a branch cannot be entirely dismissed). If this is the case with employed workers (of whom about one-fifth seem to be superfluous), what then about the ever lengthening lines at employment bureaus? About 260,000 unemployed are waiting chiefly for their first job and therefore do not get any welfare payments, while those who have had a job receive 200,000 dinars a month for a few months.

The former political elite imposed a moral burden on Bosnia-Hercegovina—in addition to the economic fiasco—especially with affairs of various kinds, new ones, and some dug up from the past, political and financial. Undoubtedly it is unfair and politically harmful to extend this burden to the new people in leaderships, but partly they have themselves to blame. Their contribution to the final dismissal of all the compromised people has been too little noticed, and in addition they have offered very few institutional guarantees that would safeguard them against a repetition of the same mistakes. There is no sense in talking about "something new," for it is obvious that Bosnia-Hercegovina has not been appearing with its own offers on the Yugoslav options market for some time. Those new people in the leaderships who have any ideas are probably still in a minority and lack sufficient "political weight."

[The following two paragraphs appear boxed within the body of the item]

If we agree with Miroslav Jancic, member of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of the Working People, who says that there are no longer any political bosses in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we must also slightly skeptically point out that institutionally, they really no longer exist, but some of their "disciples" from over the many years have remained. These disciples could be—but of course, it is not possible to assert this for the time being—an "extended arm" of the previous leading team, if they turned to it for "experience." In connection with the psychological phenomenon of "searching for their own leader" (one can hear unofficial statements by officials in Sarajevo to the effect that the republic could now do with a politician of Mikulic's caliber) at a time when the confrontations among leaders are aggravated on the Yugoslav plane, this may also contribute in its own way to the shaping of the political profile of the central republic. Anyhow, like Janjic says, the choice between democratization and an extension of the recent political model depends on "the events in Yugoslavia and the political culture in the republic itself."

The functional lameness of Bosnian politics is primarily a consequence of the "supplementary" cadre proceedings that have been going on uninterruptedly for almost 2 years. In the constitutional court and in the prosecution, in the Chamber of Economy and the Executive Council, in the Presidency and the Central Committee, there is a mass of new people, who on the one hand are only discovering what should be done, and on the other hand are finding out how it could be done. Some analysts

therefore think that apart from a firm determination to "overcome" the crisis in "legal" ways, the Bosnian political leadership has not yet made the impression that it knows precisely what it may do and what it must do. [end of boxed passages]

Sparks of Interethnic Disputes

News about a deterioration of the interethnic relations has been coming from various parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina for some time, but the assessments about the "tension" are contradictory. According to one view, this is only a consequence of the circulation of various emissaries (the term emissary is almost exclusively used for people who agitate for an "antibureaucratic revolution" after the Serbian model) and the aggravated relations in the country in general; but the other extreme is evinced by assertions about a public appearance of "authentic" antagonisms, which in some communal leaderships seem to have already caused a split along national lines. The seriousness of the warnings and the involvement of legal political factors vary accordingly. Even among the officials, there are some who believe that it is necessary only to prevent an "importation" of nationalisms, and who declare the thesis about Bosnian "special sensitivity" to be a possible, new bureaucratic intrigue to stop the process of opening up the political space.

Regardless of whether such warnings are opportune, the fact remains that the speeches by Fuad Muhic and Muhamed Abadzic at the session of the republican Central Committee, mentioned at the beginning, caused a worrying reaction, which ranged all the way to more or less unequivocal imputations about meetings with Azem Vlasi and an alleged "religious" plot by the muslims (without a capital M). The story about Vasa and Cazim (friends for many years, who parted because of their different views on Slobodan Milosevic) that Muhamed Abadzic told as a true story has thus been subsequently confirmed. Therefore, the most convincing assessment one hears is by the people who say that the "importation" of interethnic tensions to certain "latent" hotbeds in Bosnia-Hercegovina may "corrode" the cement of the Yugoslav federation to unpredictable proportions.

Officials Try To Ignore Solevic

This is precisely what infamous Miroslav Solevic is counting on, but the Bosnian political structures still basically ignore him. If they responded to his predictions, they say, they would recognize him as a political partner. Such a legalistic position, which leaves "appropriate state organs" to deal with Solevic, only recently began to give way to a more realistic view that "he perhaps is no partner, but those who allow him to incite with impunity to overthrow the constitutional system of a republic are partners." The Kosovo Polje people's tribune should therefore receive a reply from the people (the Bosnian example cited are the Zenica steelworkers, who themselves settled the accounts with a handful of agitators during the recent strike), while officials obviously still try (behind the scenes) to make his mentors see some sense.

Status Quo Policy or Suvar's Option

He who would try to deduce from all this the possible Bosnian stand on the polarization of daily politics or in views on the future variation of Yugoslav socialism would sooner or later probably realize that republican politics lack room for maneuvering. The inner (inclinations and abilities of decisive individuals) and outer (the situation in the republic and the state) "constraints" bring it again and again back to "principled stands" or a "nonaligned position": equality of the peoples and nationalities and AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], stressing the class element against the national element, Tito's road.... In its own way (if we add the strong lobby of the bankrupt parts of the economy that will strive for a preservation of state interference), this is a policy of status quo or the so-called Suvar option.

In this light, one should understand the rather "balanced" warnings against "fanning nationalism" (by the Serbian side) and against "restoration of a multiparty system" (by the Slovene side). Last week, the latter was much stronger (superficial reading is obvious, for instance, in the indignation about the MLADINA map of western Yugoslavia), but one should not forget that 2 weeks earlier the opposite side was on the carpet. (However, it is true that few people speculate by name about Milosevic as much and in the same way as about the three men of Slovenia.)

Separate Referendums for Slovene Leadership

LD2003144489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—The 2 April referendum of Slovene citizens to choose between the two candidates for the membership of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia will not be combined with a referendum in support of the Slovene leadership, or indeed, support for the "Izjava" [Statement], issued during the 27 February meeting in the Cankar House. This was decided today during the session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP.

Parties Accept Slovene Invitation to Talks

AU1803171189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] More than a month ago, the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia conveyed written proposals to all the republican and provincial LC committees suggesting direct mutual bilateral talks on their assessments of the political situation in Yugoslavia, and to discover their common points on 11 key problems, as well as the differences that should be cleared up.

Almost all replied in writing that they accept the suggestion. The Central Committee of the LC of Croatia and the Provincial Committee of Kosovo made an oral assent. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

A meeting of the representatives of the Central Committees of the LC of Slovenia and Montenegro is announced for next week, which will be held in Ljubljana. Other meetings have not been arranged yet.

Asked whether they will all be held in Ljubljana, Milan Kucan told Radio Belgrade: This is a matter of agreement. The Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia is prepared not only to be a host but a guest as well if somebody invites its representatives. Kucan added that four to five people should attend such talks from each side.

It should be pointed out that all the LC republican and provincial committees, in their letters sent to the leadership of the Slovene Communists, expressed the opinion that it is high time that mutual talks be organized more frequently, and that they should strive to remove differences in a democratic way.

The leadership of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC stressed that because of the accumulated differences, the danger exists that the differences and disunity in the LC may become even deeper. The Vojvodina Provincial Committee stresses the need to harmonize views on the ideological and cadre renewal of the LC and on the implementation of the reform of the economic and political system. It adds that the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is a condition for deeper and more comprehensive changes in society.

The Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia recommends that talks be arranged not only among the party representatives, but among representatives of other republican and provincial organs and organizations as well.

The Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, which was the first to accept the Ljubljana initiative, says that such talks and exchanges of views and data may be useful, particularly if they are sincere, open, and comradely, and if they are accompanied by specific deeds that deepen the understanding of circumstances under which the LCs in the republics and provinces operate.

The letter of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia adds that the Slovene initiative is also welcome because extremely willful and often malicious interpretations of the situation, processes, and actions of Communists in another community have been emanating from other republics for some time. Such interpretations are particularly harmful and cause disgust if they do not take facts into account or if they distort facts.

The explanations made between the leaderships may therefore contribute to a reduction of the public misunderstandings, confrontations, and of the impression that peoples are quarreling, the letter by the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia sent to Ljubljana says.

Since some of the 11 topics for discussion have been mentioned in the replies by the republican and provincial committees cited above, one should report some more of the topics proposed by the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia. They are:

What is understood under the project of the renewal of socialism, the political system, and pluralism? The question of the further development of Yugoslav federalism and the prospects of solving the national problem. The perception of the Cankar Hall rally. How to solve the crisis in Kosovo. The starting points for the new Constitution and the attitude toward the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The opening of Yugoslavia toward Europe and the world. How to organize the forthcoming Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia.

'Peace Mission' of Slovenia's Kucan Viewed

AU1903190389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Mar 89 p 4

[Zeljko Vukovic commentary: "Diplomacy Instead of Democratic Centralism"]

[Text] Kucan's "peace mission"—which is the name that has already been given to the call by the head of the Slovene Communists to all republican and provincial party leaderships to "sit down and reach agreement" because "there are great differences in the views and assessments of the current circumstances and events in our country"—was greeted with a unanimous welcome throughout the country. The reason should not be disputed—the majority of the inhabitants (and that is a vast majority) of the country in the hilly Balkans are seriously concerned about the fate of Yugoslavia and await "peace" with impatience and hope despite the fact that they are consciously or unconsciously participating in an increasingly emotive and therefore increasingly dangerous "war of the peoples."

This paradox also explains the positive reaction of the Yugoslav public to the acceptance by the party leaderships to "sit down and reach agreement." The fact that such moves or actions which lead to a reasonable denouement of all our quarrels and disagreements are a real rarity on our political scene, seems to be the main reason why not only Kucan's "mission" is now being valued solely as one of the beneficial "sedatives" for impassioned heads.

However, the aforementioned "peace mission" must now be viewed through different glasses. There are too many unsolved dilemmas concerning it, in order to be able to talk about its a priori positiveness or success. The key question without an answer is why can the leaders

and "collective heads" of all the Yugoslav parties not "sit down and reach agreement" at sessions of the federal party organs (of which they are members as a collection of individuals). If they believe that they can reach agreement "at peace meetings"—and they have already voiced this view—does this mean an indirect but all the same clear denial of the importance and even existence of Yugoslav party organs (of which they are members as a collection of individuals)? Because it is obvious that the republican and provincial powers have not until now wanted or been able to "eliminate great differences in views and assessments" within the framework of these institutions even though this was demanded of them and is being demanded of them by the public of the country.

What is it that is preventing them from "reaching agreement" as members of federal party bodies and what is it that is allowing them to do this in "bilateral talks"? Perhaps the closest explanation of this dilemma can be reached by looking at the role and stand—in both cases—of the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership.

One thing is certain—the party leadership of the middle republic does not have a "republican interest." As a multinational community, Bosnia-Hercegovina shares the fate of Yugoslavia and any deviation from Yugoslav interests would be fatal for it. This means that the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership will not and should not support one thing in federal party bodies and something else in individual meetings with the other party leaderships. The fact that they have agreed to be included in the "peace mission" should be interpreted as an expression of the desire to try to prevent in any possible way the further splitting of Yugoslavia. Of course, it is the duty of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Communist leaderships to clearly present their expressly Yugoslav view on all contentious issues, whether this involves a session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] or talks with some republican or provincial leaderships.

Are the other party leaderships in a different situation than the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership, and if so why? They are, because they think differently about their own work and the work of others and they assess in a different way the consequences of these republican or provincial policies for Yugoslav policy and the future of the country. The fact that exclusivity is an increasingly pronounced characteristic of these different views and assessments points to the conclusion that the "peace mission" could mean diplomatic policies of concessions.

Neither Milan Kucan nor the other party leaders have said whether the "peace meetings" will be open or whether statements will be issued from them like those from inter-state meetings. If they are public and accessible for all the Yugoslav press, the chance of possibly suspecting that what was "agreed" represents a compromise by the two sides and not a stand sifted through a Yugoslav filter will disappear. In this case, the dilemma would still remain—why was such an agreement not reached in the framework of the federal party organs. A satisfactory epilogue, whatever it may mean to all of us, should not cancel out the fact that it was reached by the will of the Yugoslav parties and not of the Yugoslav party because in this case it would show more specifically whether Yugoslavia is moving toward federalism or confederalism.

If the "peace talks" are closed to the public, despite a satisfactory outcome, room will remain for anxiety about the firmness and permanency of such an agreement. What is it, for example, that Kucan and Milosevic can say to each other in these talks and not at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium? If such a thing exists, then a single logical conclusion emerges—that they are "bothered" by Suvar, Racan, Brigic, Korosec, and the other members of the federal party leadership. The same thing applies to all the other combinations in the case of "bilateral meetings." If this were correct, then the federal party leadership, like the LCY, only exists formally. In any case, this is a question of a dilemma which must be settled as soon as possible, not verbally but with practical actions.

The idea about the republican and provincial leaderships getting to know each other better sounds a little naive and even hypocritical. If the most responsible people of the republics and provinces and therefore of Yugoslavia (and through their representatives in the federal bodies) do not know what is happening in another republic or province, then the logical question follows—how can they conduct Yugoslav politics at all? If they are admitting that they do not know each other well and that misunderstandings and confrontation arise from this, then they have automatically accused themselves of being the main culprits for everything that is happening in Yugoslavia today. They drew "the lines of discord" according to which the people and nationalities are classified today. While they are in their present posts, they are the only ones who can draw the "line of rapprochement." To make sure that that line is the right one, they would have to do this through Yugoslav federal institutions. Joint meetings may turn out to be useful, but only as a "seasoning" and not at all as the main dish. A governmentless Yugoslavia is a poor guarantee that "the surplus of power will bring a better future to its sovereign parts." An abundance of something has always meant a lack of something.

Slovene Officers Urged To Resist 'Insult'

LD2003112889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—Reminding you of our cooperation and genuine friendship over many years as well as of the fact that the Federation of Reserve Officers [SRVS] is a single Yugoslav organization, we expect that the reserve officers from fraternal Slovenia will also rise against all manifestations and activities

which pose a threat to Yugoslavia, created at the cost of so much bloodshed. This is stated in a letter which the reserve officers of Bosnia-Hercegovina have sent to their compatriots in Slovenia.

In the wake of a session of the Presidium of the SRVS Republican Conference of Bosnia-Hercegovina, during which dissatisfaction and concern were expressed over the latest divisions of Yugoslavia as reflected in the MLADINA maps, the Bosnia-Hercegovina reserve officers say this in their letter: "In placing our complete confidence in the reserve officers in Slovenia we expect you to publicly express your stance in connection with the MLADINA reports, which are an insult to the genuine beliefs of the Yugoslav-oriented working people and citizens, and to resist openly and utterly effectively all attempts to destroy brotherhood and unity, no matter in which part of the country they may be manifested."

Controversy Over Inspection of Miners' Fund
LD2203162889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav SDK [Social Accountancy Service] was amazed to receive the assessment of the Slovene Executive Council that the inspection of the collection of funds for assistance to the Trepca miners is contrary to the law and that the director general, Dimitrije Tasic, overstepped his authority. Even more amazing, the Yugoslav SDK letter, which was today sent to the Slovene Executive Council, says, is the claim that this inspection allegedly "secures the material for some other actions for which, however, the service has no competent authority," without explaining which "other actions" this is a reference to.

The Yugoslav SDK stresses that the inspection of the payments of funds for individual purposes does not contravene the law and does not represent any kind of overstepping of authority, because it is expressly given to the service and to its director-general. [passage omitted]

Gnjilane Battery Factory Suspends Six Workers
LD2203173389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Gnjilane, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The first specific moves to establish responsibility for the work stoppages by ethnic Albanian workers and their refusal to carry out their everyday work tasks have been made by the Trepca's battery factory in Gnjilane. Yesterday the factory suspended six workers.

At an action conference of the League of Communists [LC] organization in the 16 November retail organization, the most aggressive strikers suspected of having organized the February work stoppage in the department store in Gnjilane were named. A final decision on ideopolitical disciplinary measures against 10 workers of this work organization will be made by their basic LC organizations.

The textile combine, the Metalac, the Gnjilane tobacco combine, and other work organizations and schools in the Gnjilane municipality are expected to raise the issue of concrete responsibility for the November gatherings and demonstration, the February strikes, and the March work stoppages.

Pula Shipyard Workers Strike, Demand More Pay
LD2203194489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Summary] Pula, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—About 150 workers at the Crvena Zvezda shipyard within Pula's Tehnomont went on strike today, dissatisfied with the 13 percent reduction in their bonuses last month. They are requesting that the responsibility be established of those who failed to respect the rules on bonus payments.

Slovene Secondary School Strike Announced
AU2103160189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Because of the worsened financial position of secondary schools, the inefficient solving of the problems that have accumulated in education and training, and particularly because of their dissatisfaction with personal incomes that are too low—because these are again lagging behind the personal incomes of those employed in the economy—the Republican Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Education, Training, and Science, at the request of the secondary schools union representatives, has called all basic organizations of the Trade Union Federation at the secondary schools to stop work for 1 hour in the morning and 1 hour in the afternoon.

With this warning strike, which will also be joined by some elementary and high schools, the trade unions should draw the attention of the public and the education authorities to the more and more complicated material and social position of schools and teachers, and at the same time acquaint them with their demands, with which they intend to persist.

Pristina Television Editor Submits Resignation
AU1503163389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 89 p 5

[TANJUG Report: "Editor Submits Resignation"]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Mar— This evening the programming board of Pristina Television accepted the resignation of Smail Smakaj, its chief responsible editor, because of mistakes in the reporting of the recent strike of miners of Albanian nationality. The errors appeared in Albanian-language news broadcasts. The Kosovo Assembly, as the founder of Pristina Radio and Television, will have a final say on this resignation.

The board also recommended to self-managing structures that they should assess the work and personal responsibility of every employee, including other leading television persons.

The board took the view that the Albanian-lang. reporting of the miners' strike substantially tended . destabilize the situation in Kosovo and beyond.

Albanians Sentenced for Propaganda Activity
LD1803115189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0018 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Prizren, March 17 (TANJUG)—The district court in Prizren (Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo) has sentenced three ethnic Albanian students to prison terms for disseminating hostile propaganda, it was announced here on Friday.

Nurij Pljakaj, 26, from Vrbnica near Prizren was jailed for three and a half years, Avdija Zekaj, 26, from Koriza for three, and Dervis Cardaku, 31, from Radoste for four years.

On several occasions from 1985 to 1988, they distributed leaflets and other propaganda material in Pristina and in other towns in Kosovo calling on ethnic Albanians to destroy unity among the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and oppose changes to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

The Kosovo Parliament should approve the proposed changes on March 24, so that they can be proclaimed by the Serbian Parliament on March 28.

A few days ago Yugoslav security officials unveiled a plan by Albanian separatists and nationalities to organize a strike by women and children in Pristina later this month.

The timing of the strike was chosen to coincide with the session of the provincial parliament which should endorse the changes to the republican Constitution.